



Departure of the Crusaders for the Holy Land. Vol. I. p. 116.

HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS IN EUROPE,
FROM
THE SUBVERSION
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST,
TO THE
CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

FROM
THE FRENCH OF CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM KOCH.

WITH A
CONTINUATION TO THE YEAR 1815,
BY M. SCHÖLL.

REVISED AND CORRECTED BY J. G. COGSWELL.

WITH A
SKETCH OF THE LATE REVOLUTIONS IN FRANCE,
BELGIUM, POLAND, AND GREECE.

Embellished with Engravings.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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REVOLUTIONS OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD VII.

From the Peace of Westphalia, to that of Utrecht.—A. D. 1648—1713.

THE political system of Europe underwent a great change at the commencement of this period. France, after having long struggled for her own independence against Austria, at length turned the balance, and became so formidable as to combine against herself the whole policy and military power of Europe. The origin of this extraordinary influence of France, belongs to the reigns of Charles VII., and Louis XI. Several important accessions which she made at this epoch, together with the change which happened in her government, gave her a power and energy, which might have secured her a decided preponderance among the Continental States, had not her influence been overbalanced by Austria, which, by a concurrence of fortunate events, and several wealthy marriages, had suddenly risen to a degree of power that excited the jealousy of all Europe. Hence, for nearly two hundred years, it required all the political resources of France to make head against her rival; and what added to her misfortunes was, that, though freed from the distraction of the Italian war, she was still agitated by civil wars, which employed her whole military force.

It was not till near the middle of the seventeenth century that she extricated herself from this long struggle; and that, disengaged from the shackles of her own factions and internal dissensions, her power assumed a new vigour. The well regulated condition of her finances, the prosperity of her commerce and manufactures, and the respectable state of her marine, all concurred to diffuse wealth and abundance over the kingdom. The abasement of the House of Austria, effected at once by the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, together with the consolidation of the Germanic body, and the federal system of the Provinces in the Netherlands, put the last climax on her glory, and secured to her the preponderance in the political scale of Europe. This change in her political system was achieved

principally by the two great statesmen, Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, who, by drying up the fountains of civil dissensions, and concentrating the reins of authority in the hands of the government, raised that monarchy to the rank which its position, its population, and its internal resources, had assigned it among the powers of the Continent.

Mazarin left the kingdom in a flourishing state to Louis XIV., who, aided by the counsels and assistance of the famous Colbert, became the patron of letters and the fine arts, and finished the work which was begun by his prime minister. Nothing could equal the ardour which inspired that prince for military fame. France would have been prosperous under his reign, and respected even by all Europe, had he kept nothing else in view than the true interests and happiness of his people; but he was ambitious of that sort of glory which is the scourge of mankind, the glory of heroes and conquerors. Hence there resulted a long series of wars, which exhausted the strength and resources of the state, and introduced a new change in its political system. The same States which had formerly made common cause with France against Austria, now combined against the former, to humble that gigantic power which seemed to threaten their liberty and independence.

[In these alliances the maritime powers voluntarily took part; and, having less fear than the others of falling under the yoke of a universal monarchy, they joined the Confederates merely for the protection of their commerce—the true source of their influence and their wealth. They undertook the defence of the equilibrium system, because they perceived, that a State which could command the greater part of the continental coasts, might in many ways embarrass their commerce, and perhaps become dangerous to their marine. They soon acquired a very great influence in the affairs of this system, by the subsidies with which from time to time they furnished the States of the Continent. From this period the principal aim of European policy was their finances and their commercial interests, in place of religion, which had been the grand motive or pretext for the preceding wars. With this new system began those abuses of commercial privileges and monopolies, prohibitions, imposts, and many other regulations, which acted as restraints on natural liberty, and became the scourge of future generations. It was then that treaties of commerce first appeared, by which every trading nation endeavoured to procure advantages to itself, at the expense of its rivals; and it was then that the belligerent powers began to lay restraints and interdicts on the commerce of neutral States.

But the political system of Europe experienced other changes at this period. Standing armies were introduced, and augmented to a degree that proved ruinous both to the agriculture of the inhabitants, and the finances of the government, which, by this means, was rendered more and more dependent on those States, whose principal object was commerce. The frequent communication between foreign courts, which the policy of Richelieu had rendered necessary, gave occasion for envoys and resident ministers; whereas formerly scarcely any other intercourse was known, except by extraordinary embassies.]

The first war that roused the European powers, was that which Louis XIV. undertook against Spain, to enforce the claims which he advanced, in name of his Queen Maria Theresa, over several provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, especially the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the seigniories of Mechlin, the marquisate of Antwerp, Upper Gueldres, the counties of Namur, Hainault and Artois, Cambray and Cambresis, which he alleged belonged to him, in virtue of the *jus devolutionis*, according to the usage of that country. According to that right, the property of goods passed to the children of the first marriage, when their parents contracted another. Maria Theresa, Queen of France, was the daughter, by the first marriage of Philip IV. King of Spain; whereas Charles II., his successor in that monarchy, was descended of the second marriage. Louis XIV. contended, that from the moment of Philip's second marriage, the property of all the countries, which were affected by the *right of devolution*, belonged to his Queen; and that, after the death of her father, that Princess should enjoy the succession. In opposition to these claims of France, the Spaniards alleged, that the *right of devolution*, being founded merely on custom, and applicable only to particular successions, could not be opposed to the fundamental laws of Spain, which maintained the indivisibility of that monarchy, and transferred the whole succession to Charles II. without any partition whatever.

In course of the campaign of 1667, the French made themselves masters of several cities in the Low Countries, such as Bruges, Furnes, Armentieres, Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Tournay, Douay, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Lille; and in course of the following winter, they got possession of Franche-Comte. The Pope and several princes having volunteered their good offices for the restoration of peace, they proposed a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the principal scene of the negotiation was at the Hague, where Louis sent the Count d'Estrades, to treat separately with the States-General. This negotiation was greatly accelerated by the famous Triple Alliance, concluded at the

Hague 1668, between Great Britain, Sweden, and the States-General. By the terms of this treaty, the Allied Powers required Louis to offer Spain the option, either to leave him in possession of the places which he had conquered, during the campaign of 1667, or to cede to him either the dutchy of Luxemburg, or Franche-Comte with the cities of Cambray, Douay, Aire, St. Omer, and Furnes, with their dependencies. The Spaniards having accepted the former of these alternatives, the draught of a treaty of peace was agreed on, and signed by the ministers of France, England, and the States-General; and this scheme served as the basis of the treaty, which was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain (May 2d 1668.) In consideration of the restitutions which she had made to Spain, France retained, in terms of this treaty, the towns of Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Douay, Tournay, Oudenarde, Lille, Armentieres, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, with their bailiwicks and dependencies.

This peace was soon followed by a new war, which Louis XIV. undertook against the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Wishing to be avenged on the Dutch, whom he knew to be the principal authors of the Triple Alliance, and consulting only his own propensity for war, he alleged, as a pretext, certain insulting medals which had been struck in Holland, on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the Triple Alliance.¹ In vain did the States-General offer him every satisfaction; he persisted in his purpose of declaring war; and the better to succeed in his design, he endeavoured first to dissolve the Triple Alliance. Colbert de Croissy, whom he sent to England, found means to detach Charles II. from the alliance, and to draw him over to side with Louis against the Republic. The same success attended the negotiation which he set on foot with the Court of Stockholm. Following the example of England, the Swedes renounced the Triple Alliance, and joined with France. Several princes of the Empire, such as the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, adopted the same line of conduct. The war broke out in 1672; and so rapid were the conquests of Louis, that he subdued in one single campaign the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overysse, and part of Holland. He would have carried the city of Amsterdam, if the Dutch had not cut their dikes and inundated the country.

Alarmed at these extraordinary successes, and apprehending the entire subversion of the Republic, the Emperor Leopold I. the King of Spain, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Imperial States, leagued in their favour, and marched to their relief. The Parliament of England obliged Charles II. to make peace

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with the Republic, by refusing to grant him supplies (1674.) The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster did the same thing. Louis XIV. then thought proper to abandon his conquests in Holland; and directed his principal strength against Spain and the Germanic States. He subdued Franche-Comté in the spring of 1674; and in course of the same year, the Prince of Condé gained the battle of Senef. In the following winter Turenne attacked the quarters of the Imperialists in Alsace, and chased them from that province, in spite of their superior numbers. That great general was slain at Saspach in Ortenau when he was on the point of fighting the famous battle with Montecuculi (11th Aug. 1674.) Next year Admiral du Quesne gained two naval victories, near the islands of Lipari and Messina, over De Ruyter, who died of the wounds he had received.

The Swedes, according to the secret articles of their alliance with France, had penetrated, in the month of December 1674, into the Electorate of Brandenburg, to cause a diversion against the Elector Frederic William, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine; but the Elector surprised them by forced marches at Rathenow, and completely routed their army near Fehrbellin (1675.) The Emperor then declared war against Sweden; and the Elector, in concert with the princes of Brunswick, the Bishop of Munster, and the King of Denmark, stripped the Swedes of the greater part of their possessions in the Empire.

At length, in the years 1678-79, a peace was concluded at Nimeguen, under the mediation of England. Louis XIV. contrived to divide the allies, and to make a separate treaty with the Dutch, by which he restored to them the city of Maestricht, which he had again seized. The example of the Dutch was followed by the Spaniards, who in like manner signed a special treaty with France; in virtue of which, they gave up to her Franche-Comté, with several cities in Flanders and Hainault, such as Valenciennes, Bouchain, Conde, Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge, with their dependencies. The peace of Munster (1648) was renewed by that which was concluded at Nimeguen, between France, the Empire, and the Emperor. France, on renouncing her right to a garrison in Philipsburg, got possession of the city of Friburg in Brisgaw, but refused to restore what she had wrested from the Duke of Lorraine, except on conditions so burdensome, that the Duke would not accept them, and preferred to abandon the repossession of his duchy. As to the peace which France and Sweden had negotiated with

Denmark and her allies the Princes of the Empire, it was renewed by different special treaties, concluded in course of the year 1679.

No sooner was the peace of Nimeguen concluded, than there sprung up new troubles, known by the name of the *Troubles of the Reunions*. Louis XIV., whose ambition was without bounds, had instituted a *Chamber of Reunion*, in the parliament of Metz, for the purpose of examining the nature and extent of the territories ceded to him by the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Nimeguen. This Chamber, as well as the Parliament of Besançon, and the Sovereign Council of Alsace, adjudged to the King, by their decree, several towns and seignories, as being fiefs or dependencies of Alsace; as also the three bishoprics, Franche-Comte, and the territories which had been ceded to him in the Netherlands.

The King's views were principally directed to Alsace. He had already tendered his claims on this province, shortly after the peace of the Pyrenees, when the matter had been referred to the decision of arbiters chosen by the Emperor himself. The work of arbitration was not far advanced, when it was interrupted by the Dutch war, in which the Emperor and the Empire were both implicated. The peace of Nimeguen having confirmed the treaty of Munster, he preferred the method of *reunion* to that of arbitration, for reclaiming his alleged rights. Taking advantage of the general terms in which the cession of Alsace was announced in the seventy-third and seventy-fourth articles of the said treaty, he claimed the absolute sovereignty of the whole province, and obliged the immediate states, included in it, to acknowledge his sovereignty, and to do him fealty and homage, notwithstanding the reservations which the eighty-seventh article of the same treaty had stipulated in favour of these very States. M. de Louvois appeared before Strasburg at the head of the French army, and summoned that city to submit to the King. Accordingly, it surrendered by capitulation on the 30th September 1681. These *reunions* extended also to the Netherlands, where the French seized, among others, the cities of Courtray, Dixmude and Luxemburg.

Louis XIV., in thus taking upon himself alone the interpretation of these treaties of peace, could not but offend the powers interested in maintaining them. A new general league was projected against France, and at the Diet of Ratisbon they deliberated on the means of setting on foot an Imperial army; but the want of unanimity among the members of the Germanic body, the troubles in Hungary, which were immediately succeeded by a war with the Porte, and the march of a Turkish army

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on Vienna, threw them into a state of consternation, and prevented the Imperial Diet from adopting any vigorous resolution. Spain, exhausted by protracted wars, and abandoned by England and Holland, was quite incapacitated from taking arms. Nothing else, therefore, remained for the parties concerned, than to have recourse to negotiation. Conferences were opened at Frankfort, which, after having languished for fifteen months in that city, were transferred to Ratisbon, where a truce of twenty years was signed (15th August 1684) between France and Spain; as also between France, the Emperor and the Empire. By the former of these treaties; Louis retained Luxemburg, Bovines, and Chimay, with their dependencies; restoring all the places which he had occupied in the Netherlands prior to the 20th August 1683. As to the treaty between France and the Emperor, the former retained, during the truce, the city of Strasburg, and the fort of Kehl, besides all the places and seigniories which they had taken possession of, since the commencement of the troubles till the 1st of August 1681. In all the places that were surrendered to him, Louis preserved the exercise of his sovereign rights, leaving to the proprietors or seigniors the entire enjoyment of the fruits and revenues belonging to their territorial rights.

It was nearly about this same time that Louis XIV. undertook to extirpate Calvinism from France. Incensed against the Protestants by the old chancellor Letellier, and his minister Louvois, the chancellor's son, he circumscribed, by repeated declarations, the privileges which they enjoyed in virtue of former edicts. The holding of general synods was forbidden; the two Chambers were suppressed; and they were all, without exception, debarred from exercising any public function. At last, Louis went so far as to send, immediately after the truce of Ratisbon (1684,) dragoons over all France, to endeavour, as was said, to convert the Protestants by gentle compulsion. This measure was next followed by the famous Edict of 1685, which revoked that of Nantes, published in 1598, and that of Nismes in 1629. All exercise of their religion—all assemblies for worship, even in the house, were forbidden to the Protestants, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Their churches were ordered to be demolished. Parents were enjoined to have their children baptized by the Catholic clergy, and to bring them up in the religion of the state. The ministers were banished, and the other Protestants were forbidden to depart the country, under pain of the galleys for men, and imprisonment and confiscation for women. The rigour of these prohibitions, however, did not prevent a vast multitude of the French Protestants from

removing to foreign countries, and transferring the seat of their industry to Germany, England, and Holland.

This blindfold zeal for religion, however, did not hinder Louis from vigorously supporting the rights of his crown against the encroachments of the court of Rome. Among the different disputes that arose between him and the Popes, that which regarded the prerogative of *Regale* deserves to be particularly remarked. The King, by declarations issued in 1673 and 1675, having extended that right to all the archbishoprics and bishoprics within the kingdom, the bishops of Aleth and Pamiers, who pretended to be exempt from it, applied to the Pope, claiming his protection. Innocent XI. interposed, by vehement briefs which he addressed to the King in favour of the bishops. This induced Louis to convoke an assembly of the French clergy, in which, besides the extension of the *Regale*, he caused them to draw up the four famous propositions, which are regarded as the basis of the liberties of the Gallican Church. These propositions were, (1.) That the power of the Pope extends only to things spiritual, and has no concern with temporal matters. (2.) That the authority of the Pope in spiritual affairs is subordinate to a general council. (3.) That it is even limited by the canons, the customs, and constitution of the kingdom and the Gallican Church. (4.) That in matters of faith the Pope's authority is not infallible.

The truce which had been concluded for twenty years at Ratisbon, continued only four; at the end of which Louis again took up arms. He pretended to have got information, that the Emperor Leopold only waited till the conclusion of the peace with the Turks, to make war upon him; and he thence inferred, that prudence required him rather to anticipate his enemy, than allow himself to be circumvented. In proof of this assertion, he cited the treaty concluded at Augsburg in 1686, between the Emperor, the King of Spain, the States-General, Sweden, the Duke of Savoy, and the principal States of the Empire, for the maintenance of the treaties concluded with France. Louis wished moreover to enforce the claims which the Dutchess of Orleans, his sister-in-law, alleged to the succession of the Palatinate. That princess was the sister of Charles, the last Elector Palatine, of the family of Simmern, who died in 1685. She did not dispute the fiefs with her brother's successor in the Electorate; she claimed the freeholds, which comprehended a considerable part of the Palatinate; while the new Elector, Philip William, of the family of Neuburg, maintained that, according to the laws and usages of Germany, the entire succession belonged to him, without any partition whatever.

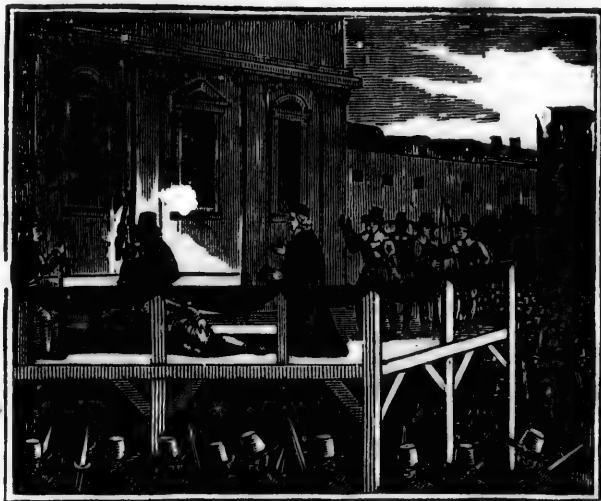
Besides these motives which Louis XIV. set forth in a long

manifesto, there was another which he kept concealed, the object of which was, to prevent the expedition which the Prince of Orange. Stadtholder of the United Provinces, was preparing to send to England, against James II. his brother-in-law, who had become odious to the whole English nation. It was of great importance for France to maintain, on the throne of Great Britain, a prince whom she protected, and who would always espouse her interests; while it was easy to foresee, that if the Prince of Orange, the declared enemy of Louis, and the author of the league of Augsburg, should succeed in uniting the crown of England to the stadtholdership, he would not fail to employ this new influence, and turn the combined force of both states against France. The only method of preventing an event so prejudicial to the true interests of that kingdom would have been doubtless, to equip an expedition, and pitch his camp on the frontiers of Holland. The Court of France knew this well, and yet they contented themselves with sending an army to the Rhine, which took possession of Philipsburg, Mayence, and the whole Palatinate, as well as a part of the Electorate of Treves (Sept. and Oct. 1688.) Louvois, the French minister who directed these operations, had flattered himself that the Dutch, when they beheld the war breaking out in their vicinity, would not dare to take any part in the troubles of England. In this opinion he was deceived; the Prince of Orange, supported by the Dutch fleet, effected a landing in England (16th November 1688.) The revolution there was soon completed, by the dethronement of James II.; and Louis XIV., ending where he should have begun, then declared war against the States-General. This mistaken policy of the French minister became the true source of all the subsequent reverses that eclipsed the reign of Louis XIV.

A powerful league was now formed against France, which was joined successively by the Emperor, the Empire, England, Holland, Spain and Savoy (1689.) Louis XIV., in order to make head against these formidable enemies, recalled his troops from those places which they occupied in the Palatinate, and on the banks of the Rhine; but in withdrawing them, he ordered a great number of the towns to be burnt to ashes, and laid waste the whole country. By this barbarity, which circumstances by no means called for, he only aggravated the hatred and increased the ardour of his enemies. War was commenced by sea and land; in Italy, Spain, Ireland, the Low Countries, and on the Rhine. Louis supported it nobly against a great part of Europe, now combined against him. His armies were victorious every where. Marshal Luxembourg signalized himself in the campaigns of Flanders, by the victories which he gained over the

allies at Fleurus (1st July 1690,) Steinkirk (3d Aug. 1692,) and Landen or Nerwinden (29th July 1693.) In Italy, Marshal Catinat gained the battle of Stafarda (18th Aug. 1690,) and Marsaglia (4th Oct. 1693) over the Duke of Savoy. The naval glory of France was well supported by the Count de Tourville at the battles of Beachy-head (10th July 1690,) and La Hogue (29th May 1692.)

However brilliant the success of her arms might be, the prodigious efforts which the war required could not but exhaust France, and make her anxious for the return of peace. Besides, Louis XIV. foresaw the approaching death of Charles II. of Spain; and it was of importance for him to break the grand alliance as soon as possible; as one of its articles secured the succession of the Spanish monarchy to the Emperor and his descendants, to the exclusion of the King of France. In this case, he wished, for his own interest, to give every facility for the restoration of peace; and by the treaty which he concluded separately with the Duke of Savoy, he granted that Prince, besides the fortress of Pignerol, and the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of Burgundy, the privilege of royal honours for his ambassadors. This treaty, concluded at Turin (29th Aug. 1696,) was a preliminary to the general peace, signed at Ryswick, between France, Spain, England, and Holland (20th Sept. 1697.) Each of the contracting parties consented to make mutual restitutions. France even restored to Spain all the towns and territories which she had occupied in the Low Countries, by means of the reunions; with the exception of eighty-two places, mentioned in a particular list, as being dependencies of Charlemont, Maubeuge, and other places ceded by the preceding treaties. Peace between France, the Emperor, and the Empire was also signed at Ryswick. The treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were there renewed; and the decrees of the Chamber of Reunion at Metz, and of the Sovereign Courts at Besançon and Brisach, were rescinded and annulled. Louis XIV. engaged to restore to the Empire all that he had appropriated to himself, by means of the reunions, either before or during the war; that is to say, all places situated or acquired beyond the bounds of Alsace. The city of Strasburg was ceded to France, by a particular article of the treaty; but the fortress of Kehl, the cities of Friburg, Brisach, and Philipsburg, were surrendered to the Emperor. Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, and son of Charles V., was reinstated in his duchy, without any other reservation than that of Saar-Louis, and the city and prefecture of Longwy. As to the claims of the Dutchess of Orleans on the Palatinate, they were submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor and the



Execution of Charles I. 1649. Vol. 1, p. 263.



*Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament.
Vol. 2, p. 28.*

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King of France ; to be referred to the decision of the Pope, should these two Sovereigns happen to differ in opinion.

The peace of Ryswick was followed by the war of the Spanish Succession, which embroiled Europe afresh, and occasioned considerable changes in its political state. Charles II. King of Spain, son of Philip IV., and last male descendant of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, having neither son, nor daughter, nor brother, the Spanish monarchy, according to a fundamental law of the kingdom, which fixed the succession in the *cognate line*, appeared to belong to Maria Theresa, Queen of France eldest sister of Charles, and to the children of her marriage with Louis XIV. To this title of Maria Theresa, was opposed her express renunciation, inserted in her marriage-contract, and confirmed by the peace of the Pyrenees ; but the French maintained, that that renunciation was null, and that it could not prejudice the children of the Queen, who held their right, not from their mother, but by the fundamental law of Spain.

Admitting the validity of the Queen's renunciation, the lineal order fixed the Spanish succession on her younger sister, Margaret Theresa, who had married the Emperor Leopold I., and left an only daughter, Maria Antoinette, spouse to the Elector of Bavaria, and mother of Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

The Emperor, who wished to preserve the Spanish monarchy in his own family, availed himself of the renunciation which he had exacted from his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Antoinette, when she married Maximilian, the Elector of Bavaria, to appear as a candidate himself, and advance the claims of his mother, Maria Anne, daughter of Philip III. King of Spain, and aunt of Charles II. He alleged, that the Spanish succession had been secured to this latter Princess, both by her marriage-contract, and by the testaments of the Kings of Spain ; and as he had two sons, the Archdukes Joseph and Charles, by his marriage with the Princess Palatine of Neuburg, he destined the elder for the Imperial throne and the States of Austria, and the younger for the Spanish monarchy.

These different claims having excited apprehensions of a general war, England and Holland, from a desire to prevent it, drew up a treaty of partition, in concert with Louis XIV. (11th Oct. 1698,) in virtue of which the Spanish monarchy was secured to Joseph Ferdinand, in case of the death of Charles II. ; while the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, the marquisate of Finale, and the province of Guipuscoa, were reserved to the Dauphin of France. The Archduke Charles, son to the Emperor, was to have the dutchy of Milan.

Although the King of Spain disapproved of the treaty, so far as it admitted a partition, nevertheless, in his will, he recognised the Prince of Bavaria as his successor in the Spanish monarchy.

A premature death having frustrated all the high expectations of that prince, the powers who had concluded the first treaty of partition drew up a second, which was signed at London (March 13, 1700.) According to this, the Archduke Charles, youngest son of the Emperor Leopold, was destined the presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy. They awarded to the Dauphin the duchy of Lorraine, with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the province of Guipuscoa; assigning to the Duke of Lorraine the duchy of Milan in exchange. Louis XIV. used every effort to have this new treaty of partition approved by the Court of Vienna. He sent thither the Marquis Villars, who, after having been long amused with vague promises, failed entirely in his negotiation; and the Emperor, whose main object was to conciliate the Court of Madrid, lost the only favourable moment which might have fixed the succession of the Spanish monarchy in his family, with the consent of Louis XIV. and the principal Courts of Europe.

At Madrid, this affair took a turn diametrically opposite to the views and interests of the Court of Vienna. Charles II., following the counsels of his prime minister, Cardinal Portocarrero, and after having taken the advice of the Pope, and of the most eminent theologians and lawyers in his kingdom, determined to make a second will, in which he recognised the rights of Maria Theresa, his eldest sister; and declared, that as the renunciation of that princess had been made solely to prevent the union of Spain with the kingdom of France, that motive ceased on transferring the Spanish monarchy to one of the younger sons of the Dauphin. Accordingly, he nominated Philip of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, heir to his whole dominions; in case of his death, the Duke of Berri, his younger brother; next, the Archduke Charles; and lastly, the Duke of Savoy; expressly forbidding all partition of the monarchy.

Charles II. having died on the 1st of November following, the Junta, or Council of Regency, which he had appointed by his will, sent to Louis XIV., praying him to accede to the settlement of their late King, and give up his grandson to the wishes of the Spanish nation. The same courier had orders to pass on to Vienna, in case of a refusal on his part, and make the same offer to the Archduke. The Court of France then assembled a Grand Council, in which they held a deliberation as to what step it was best to adopt, in an affair which so nearly concerned the general repose of Europe. The result of this

Council was, that they ought to accede to the will of Charles II., and renounce the advantages which the second treaty of partition held out to France. It was alleged, as the reason of this resolution, that by refusing to accept the will, Louis must either abandon altogether his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, or undertake an expensive war to obtain by conquest what the treaty of partition assigned him; without being able, in this latter case, to reckon on the effectual co-operation of the two maritime courts.

Louis XIV. having therefore resolved to accede to the will, Philip of Anjou was proclaimed King by the Spaniards, and made his solemn entry into Madrid on the 14th of April 1701. Most of the European powers, such as the States of Italy, Sweden, England, Holland, and the kingdoms of the North, acknowledged Philip V.; the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy even concluded treaties of alliance with him. Moreover, the situation of political affairs in Germany, Hungary, and the North was such, that it would have been easy for Louis XIV., with prudent management, to preserve the Spanish crown on the head of his grandson; but he seemed, as if on purpose, to do every thing to raise all Europe against him. It was alleged, that he aimed at the chimerical project of universal monarchy, and the union of France with Spain. Instead of trying to do away this supposition, he gave it additional force, by issuing letters-patent in favour of Philip, at the moment when he was departing for Spain, to the effect of preserving his rights to the throne of France. The Dutch dreaded nothing so much as to see the French making encroachments on the Spanish Netherlands, which they regarded as their natural barrier against France; the preservation of which appeared to be equally interesting to England.

It would have been prudent in Louis XIV. to give these maritime powers some security on this point, who, since the elevation of William Prince of Orange to the crown of Great Britain, held as it were in their hands the balance of Europe. Without being swayed by this consideration, he obtained authority from the Council of Madrid, to introduce a French army into the Spanish Netherlands; and on this occasion the Dutch troops, who were quartered in various places of the Netherlands, according to a stipulation with the late King of Spain, were disarmed. This circumstance became a powerful motive for King William to rouse the States-General against France. He found some difficulty, however, in drawing over the British Parliament to his views, as a great majority in that House were averse to mingle in the quarrels of the Continent; but the death of James II. a

tered the minds and inclinations of the English. Louis XIV. having formerly acknowledged the son of that prince as King of Great Britain, the English Parliament had no longer any hesitation in joining the Dutch, and the other enemies of France. A new and powerful league was formed against Louis. The Emperor, England, the United Provinces, the Empire, the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, and the Duke of Savoy, all joined it in succession. The allies engaged to restore to Austria, the Spanish Netherlands, the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany; and never to permit the union of France with Spain.

At the commencement of the war, Louis for some time maintained the glory and superiority of his arms, notwithstanding the vast number of adversaries he had to oppose. It was not until the campaign of 1704 that fortune abandoned him; when one reverse was only succeeded by another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene defeated Marshal de Tallard at Hochstett or Blenheim, (Aug. 13,) where he lost thirty thousand men, and was himself carried prisoner to England. This disaster was followed by the loss of Bavaria, and all the French possessions beyond the Rhine. The battle which Marlborough gained (May 23, 1706) at Ramillies in Brabant was not less disastrous; it secured to the allies the conquest of the greater part of the Netherlands; and to increase these misfortunes, Marshal de Marsin lost the famous battle of Turin against Prince Eugene (Sept. 7,) which obliged the French troops to evacuate Italy. The battle which was fought at Oudenarde in Flanders (July 11, 1708) was not so decisive. Both sides fought with equal advantage; but the duke of Burgundy, who was commander-in-chief of the French army, having quitted the field of battle during the night, contrary to the advice of Vendome, Marlborough made this an occasion for claiming the victory.

At length the dreadful winter of 1709, and the battle of Malplaquet, which Marlborough gained over Villars (Sept. 11,) reduced France to the greatest distress, and brought Louis under the necessity of suing for peace, and even descending to the most humiliating conditions. M. de Torcy, his minister for foreign affairs, was despatched to the Hague; and, among a number of preliminary articles, he agreed to make restitution of all the conquests which the French had made since the peace of Munster. He consented to surrender the city of Strasburg, and henceforth to possess Alsace according to the literal terms of the treaty of Munster; the throne of Spain was reserved for the archduke; and Louis consented to abandon the interests of

Philip. But the allies, rendered haughty by their success, demanded of the King that he should oblige his grandson voluntarily to surrender his crown, otherwise they would compel him by force of arms, and that within the short space of two months. The conferences, which had been transferred from the Hague to Gertruydenberg, were consequently broken off, and the war continued.

In this critical state of things, two unexpected events happened, which changed the face of affairs; and Louis XIV., far from being constrained to submit to the articles of the preliminaries at Gertruydenberg, saw himself even courted by England, and in a condition to dictate the law to several of the powers that were leagued against him. The Emperor Joseph I. died (April 11th 1711) without leaving any male offspring. His brother the Archduke Charles, who took the title of King of Spain, now obtained the Imperial dignity, and became heir of all the States belonging to the German branch of the House of Austria. It appeared, therefore, that the system of equilibrium could not possibly admit the same prince to engross likewise the whole Spanish monarchy. This event was coupled with another, relative to the change which had taken place in the ministry and Parliament of Great Britain. The Whigs, who had been the ruling party since the Revolution of 1689, were suddenly supplanted by the Tories. This overthrow brought the Duke of Marlborough into disgrace, who had long stood at the head of affairs in England, as chief of the Whig faction. Queen Anne, who stood in awe of him, found no other expedient for depriving him of his influence, than to make peace with France. L'Abbé Gualtier, who resided at London in quality of almoner to the ambassador of Charles of Austria, was despatched by her Majesty to France, to make the first overtures of peace to Louis. A secret negotiation was set on foot between the two Courts, the result of which was a preliminary treaty signed at London (October 8th 1711.)

A congress was opened at Utrecht, with the view of a general pacification. The conferences which took place there, after the month of February 1712, met with long interruptions; both on account of the disinclination of several of the allied powers for peace, and because of the matters to be separately treated between France and England, which retarded the progress of the general negotiation. The battle of Denain, which Marshal Villars gained over the Earl of Albemarle (July 24,) helped to render the allies more tractable. Peace was signed at Utrecht in the month of April 1713, between France and the chief belligerent powers. The Emperor alone refused to take part in it, as

he could not resolve to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy.

The grand aim of England in that transaction, was to limit the overwhelming power of France; for this purpose she took care, in that treaty, to establish as a fundamental and inviolable law, the clause which ordained that the kingdoms of France and Spain never should be united. To effect this, it was necessary that Philip of Anjou should formally renounce his right to the crown of France; while his brother the Duke de Berri, as well as the Duke of Orleans, should do the same in regard to the claims which they might advance to the Spanish monarchy. The deeds of these renunciations, drawn up and signed in France and in Spain, in presence of the English ambassadors, were inserted, in the treaty of Utrecht; as were also the letters-patent which revoked and annulled those that Louis had given, for preserving the right of the Duke of Anjou to the succession of the French crown. Louis XIV. promised for himself, his heirs and successors, never to attempt either to prevent or elude the effect of these renunciations; and failing the descendants of Philip, the Spanish succession was secured to the Duke of Savoy, his male descendants, and the other princes of his family, to the exclusion of the French princes.

Another fundamental clause of the treaty of Utrecht declared, that no province, city, fortress or place, in the Spanish Netherlands, should ever be ceded, transferred, or granted to the crown of France; nor to any prince or princess of French extraction, under any title whatever. These provinces, designed to serve as a barrier for the Low Countries against France, were adjudged to the Emperor and the House of Austria, together with the kingdom of Naples, the ports of Tuscany, and the dutchy of Milan; and as the Emperor was not a party to the treaty, it was agreed that the Spanish Netherlands should remain as a deposit in the hands of the States-General, until that prince should arrange with them respecting the barrier-towns. The same stipulation was made in regard to that part of the French Netherlands which Louis had ceded in favour of the Emperor; such as Menin, Tournay, Furnes, and Furnes-Ambacht, the fortress of Kenock, Ypres, and their dependencies.

England, in particular, obtained by this treaty various and considerable advantages. Louis XIV. withdrew his protection from the Pretender, and engaged never to give him harbour in France. The succession to the throne of Great Britain, was guaranteed to the House of Hanover. They agreed to raze the fortifications of the port of Dunkirk, which had so much excited the jealousy of England; while France likewise ceded to her

Hudson's Bay, and Straits, the Island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland in America. Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca, both of which had been conquered by the English during the war; they secured to her, besides, for thirty years, the privilege of furnishing negroes for the Spanish American colonies.

The King of Prussia obtained the Spanish part of Gueldres, with the city of that name, and the district of Kessel, in lieu of the principality of Orange, which was given to France; though he had claims to it as the heir of William III. King of England. The kingdom of Sicily was adjudged to the Duke of Savoy, to be possessed by him and his male descendants; and they confirmed to him the grants which the Emperor had made him, of that part of the dutchy of Milan which had belonged to the Duke of Mantua, as also Alexandria, Valencia, the L. melline, and the Valley of Sessia. Finally, Sardinia was reserved for the Elector of Bavaria, the ally of France in that war.

As the Emperor had not acceded to the treaty of Utrecht, the war was continued between him and France. Marshal Villars took Landau and Friburg in Brisgaw; afterwards a conference took place between him and Prince Eugene at Rastadt. New preliminaries were there drawn up; and a congress was opened at Baden in Switzerland, where a definitive peace was signed (Sept. 7th 1714.) The former treaties, since the peace of Westphalia, were there renewed. The Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who had been put to the ban of the Empire, and deprived of their estates, were there fully re-established. Sardinia, which had been assigned to the Elector of Bavaria, by the treaty of Utrecht, remained in possession of the Emperor, who likewise recovered Brisach and Friburg in Brisgaw, instead of Landau which had been ceded to France.

Louis XIV. did not long survive this latter treaty. Never did any sovereign patronize literature and the fine arts like him. Many celebrated academies for the promotion of the arts and sciences owe their origin to his auspices, such as the Academy of Inscriptions, Belles-Lettres, Sciences, Painting, and Architecture. His reign was illustrious for eminent men, and talents of every description, which were honoured and encouraged by him. He even extended his favour to the philosophers and literati of foreign countries. This prince has been reproached for his two great partiality to the Jesuits, his confessors, and for the high importance which he attached to the dispute between the Jansenists and the Molinists, which gave rise to the famous Bull *Unigenitus*,² approved by the clergy, and published by the King as a law of the state over all France. This illustrious

Prince ended his days after a reign of seventy-two years, fertile in great events; he transmitted the crown to his great grandson, Louis XV., who was only five years of age when he mounted the throne (Sept. 1, 1714.)

In the course of this period, several memorable events happened in Germany. The Emperor, Leopold I., having assembled a Diet at Ratisbon, to demand subsidies against the Turks, and to settle certain matters which the preceding Diet had left undecided, the sittings of that assembly were continued to the present time, without ever having been declared permanent by any formal law of the Empire. The peace of Westphalia, had instituted an eighth Electorate for the Palatine branch of Wittlesbach; the Emperor, Leopold I., erected a ninth, in favour of the younger branch of the House of Brunswick. The first Elector of this family, known by the name of Brunswick-Luneburg, or Hanover, was the Duke Ernest Augustus, whom the Emperor invested in his new dignity, to descend to his heirs-male, on account of his engaging to furnish Austria with supplies in money and troops, for carrying on the war against the Turks. This innovation met with decided opposition in the Empire. Several of the Electors were hostile to it; and the whole body of Princes declared, that the new Electorate was prejudicial to their dignity, and tended to introduce an Electoral Oligarchy. The Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel especially protested against the preference which was given to the younger branch of his House over the elder, in spite of family compacts, and the right of primogeniture established in the House of Brunswick.

A confederacy was thus formed against the ninth Electorate. The allied Princes resolved, in an assembly held at Nuremberg, to raise an army, and apply to the powers that had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia. France espoused the quarrel of these Princes; she concluded with the King of Denmark, a treaty of alliance and subsidy against the ninth Electorate, and declared, before the Diet of the Empire, that she regarded this innovation as a blow aimed at the treaty of Westphalia. In course of time, however, these animosities were allayed. The Princes recognised the ninth Electorate, and the introduction of the new Elector took place in 1708. A decree was passed at the Diet, which annexed a clause to his admission, that the Catholic Electors should have the privilege of a casting vote, in cases where the number of Protestant Electors should happen to equal that of the Catholics. By the same decree, the King of Bohemia, who had formerly never been admitted but at the election of the Emperors, obtained a voice in all the deliberations of the Empire and the Electoral College, on condition of his paying, in time coming, an Electoral quota for the kingdom of Bohemia.

The Imperial capitulations assumed a form entirely new, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A difference had formerly existed among the members of the Germanic body on this important article of public law. They regarded it as a thing illegal, that the Electors alone should claim the right of drawing up the capitulations; and they maintained, with much reason, that before these compacts should have the force of a fundamental law of the Empire, it was necessary that they should have the deliberation and consent of the whole Diet. The Princes, therefore, demanded, that there should be laid before the Diet a scheme of perpetual capitulation, to serve as a rule for the Electors on every new election. That question had already been debated at the Congress of Westphalia, and sent back by it for the decision of the Diet. There it became the subject of long discussion; and it was not till the interregnum, which followed the death of the Emperor Joseph I., that the principal points of the perpetual capitulation were finally settled. The plan then agreed to was adopted as the basis of the capitulation, which they prescribed to Charles VI. and his successors. Among other articles, a clause was inserted regarding the election of a king of the Romans. This, it was agreed, should never take place during the Emperor's life, except in a case of urgent necessity; and that the proscription of an elector, prince, or state of the Empire, should never take place, without the consent of the Diet, and observing the formalities enjoined by the new capitulation.

Three Electoral families of the Empire were raised to the royal dignity; viz. those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg. Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, after having made a profession of the Catholic religion, was elected to the throne of Poland; a dignity which was afterwards conferred, also by election, on his son Augustus III. That change of religion did not prevent the Electors of Saxony from remaining at the head of the Protestant interest in the Diet of the Empire, as they had given them assurance that they would make no innovations in the religion of their country, and that they would appoint a council entirely composed of Protestant members, for administering the affairs of the Empire. These princes, however, lost part of their influence; and so far was the crown of Poland, which was purely elective, from augmenting the greatness and real power of their house, that, on the contrary, it served to exhaust and enfeeble Saxony, by involving it in ruinous wars, which ended in the desolation of that fine country, the alienation of the Electoral domains, and the increase of the debts and burdens of the state.

If the royal dignity of Poland was prejudicial to the House of Saxony, it was by no means so with that of Prussia, which the House of Brandenburg acquired soon after. The Elector, John Sigismund, on succeeding to the duchy of Prussia, had acknowledged himself a vassal and tributary of the crown of Poland. His grandson, Frederic William, took advantage of the turbulent situation in which Poland was placed at the time of the invasion of Charles X. of Sweden, to obtain a grant of the sovereignty of Prussia, by a treaty which he concluded with that Republic at Welau (19th September 1657.) Poland, in renouncing the territorial rights which she exercised over Ducal Prussia, stipulated for the reversion of these same rights, on the extinction of the male line of the Electoral House of Brandenburg.

Frederic I., the son and successor of Frederic William, having become sovereign of Ducal Prussia, thought himself authorized to assume the royal dignity. The elevation of his cousin-german, the Prince of Orange, to the throne of Britain, and of his next neighbour, the Elector of Saxony, to the sovereignty of Poland, tempted his ambition, and induced him to enter into a negotiation on the subject with the Court of Vienna. The Emperor Leopold promised to acknowledge him as King of Prussia, on account of a supply of ten thousand men which Frederic promised to furnish him in the war of the Spanish Succession, which was then commencing. To remove all apprehensions on the part of Poland, who might perhaps offer some opposition, the Elector signed a compact, bearing, that the royal dignity of Prussia should in no way prejudice the rights and possession of the King and States of Poland over Polish Prussia; that neither he nor his successors should attempt to found claims on that part of Prussia; and that the clause in the treaty of Welau, which secured the reversion of the territorial right of Ducal Prussia, on the extinction of the heirs-male of Frederic William, should remain in full force and vigour, never to be infringed by the new King or any of his successors. After these different conventions, the Elector repaired to Koningsberg, where he was proclaimed King of Prussia (18th January 1701.) It is worthy of remark, that on the ceremony of his coronation, he put the crown on his own head.

All the European powers acknowledged the new King, with the exception of France and Spain, with whom he soon engaged in war. The Teutonic Knights, bearing in mind their ancient claims over Prussia, deemed it their duty to support them by a protest, and their example was followed by the Court of Rome. The opinion which the author of the *Mémoires of Brandenburg* delivers on this event is very remarkable. "Frederic," says he

"was flattered with nothing so much, as the externals of royalty, the pomp of ostentation, and a certain whimsical self-conceit, which was pleased with making others feel their inferiority. What at first was the mere offspring of vanity, turned out in the end to be a masterpiece of policy. The royal dignity liberated the House of Brandenburg from that yoke of servitude under which Austria had, till then, held all the Princes of Germany. It was a kind of bait which Frederic held out to all his posterity, and by which he seemed to say, I have acquired for you a title, render yourselves worthy of it; I have laid the foundation of your greatness, yours is the task of completing the structure." In fact Austria, by promoting the House of Brandenburg, seemed to have injured her own greatness. In the very bosom of the Empire, she raised up a new power, which afterwards became her rival, and seized every opportunity of aggrandizement at her expense.

As for the Electoral House of Brunswick-Luneburg, it succeeded, as we have observed, to the throne of Great Britain, in virtue of a fundamental law of that monarchy, which admitted females to the succession of the crown. Ernest Augustus, the first Elector of the Hanoverian line, had married Sophia, daughter of the Elector Palatine Frederic V., by the Princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., King of Great Britain. An act of the British Parliament in 1701, extended the succession to that Princess, then Electress-Dowager of Hanover, and to her descendants, as being nearest heirs to the throne, according to the order established by former acts of Parliament, limiting the succession to Princes and Princesses of the Protestant line only. The Electress Sophia, by that act, was called to the succession, in case William III., and Anne, the youngest daughter of James II., left no issue; an event which took place in 1714, on the death of Anne, who had succeeded William in the kingdom of Great Britain. The Electress Sophia was not alive at that time, having died two months before that princess. George, Elector of Hanover, and son of Sophia by Ernest Augustus, then ascended the British throne (Aug. 12, 1714,) to the exclusion of all the other descendants of Elizabeth, who, though they had the right of precedence, were excluded by being Catholics, in virtue of the Acts of Parliament 1689, 1701, 1705.

The war of the Spanish Succession had occasioned great changes in Italy. Spain, after having been long the leading power in that country, gave place to Austria, to whom the treaties of Utrecht and Baden had adjudged the dutchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the ports of Tuscany. To these she added the dutchy of Mantua, of which the Empe-

ror Joseph I. had dispossessed Duke Charles IV. of the House of Gonzaga, for having espoused the cause of France in the War of the Succession. The Duke of Mirandola met with a similar fate, as the ally of the French in that war. His dutchy was confiscated by the Emperor, and sold to the Duke of Modena. This new aggrandizement of Austria in Italy excited the jealousy of England, lest the princes of that house should take occasion to revive their obsolete claims to the royalty of Italy and the Imperial dignity; and it was this which induced the Court of London to favour the elevation of the Dukes of Savoy, in order to counterbalance the power of Austria in Italy.

The origin of the House of Savoy is as old as the beginning of the eleventh century, when we find a person named Berthold in possession of Savoy, at that time a province of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. The grandson of Berthold married Adelaide de Suza, daughter and heiress of Mainfroi, Marquis of Italy and Lord of Suza. This marriage brought the House of Savoy considerable possessions in Italy, such as the Marquisate of Suza, the Dutchy of Turin, Piedmont, and Val d'Aoste. Humbert II. Count of Savoy, conquered the province of Tarentum. Thomas, one of his successors, acquired by marriage the barony of Faucigny. Amadeus V. was invested by the Emperor Henry VII. in the city and county of Asti. Amadeus VII. received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Nice, which he had dismembered from Provence, together with the counties of Tenda and Boglio; having taken advantage of the intestine dissensions in that country, and the conflict between the factions of Duras and Anjou, who disputed the succession of Naples and the county of Provence. Amadeus VIII. purchased from Otho de Villars the county of Geneva, and was created, by the Emperor Sigismund, first Duke of Savoy (Feb. 19, 1416.)

The rivalry which had subsisted between France and Austria since the end of the fifteenth century, placed the House of Savoy in a situation extremely difficult. Involved in the wars which had arisen between these two powers in Italy, it became of necessity more than once the victim of political circumstances. Duke Charles III. having allied himself with Charles V., was deprived of his estates by France; and his son Philibert, noted for his exploits in the campaigns of Flanders, did not obtain restitution of them until the peace of Chateau Cambresis. The Dukes Charles Emanuel II., and Victor Amadeus II., experienced similar indignities, in the wars which agitated France and Spain during the seventeenth century, and which were terminated by the treaties of the Pyrenees and Turin in the years



Death of Charles XII. of Sweden. Vol. 2. p. 41.



Encampment of a Brigade of Imperial Body Guards, Vol. 2, p. 52.

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1659, 1696. In the war of the Spanish Succession, Victor Amadeus II. declared at first for his son-in-law, Philip King of Spain, even taking upon himself the chief command of the French army in Italy; but afterwards, perceiving the danger of his situation, and seduced by the advantageous offers which the Emperor made him, he thought proper to alter his plan, and joined the grand alliance against France. Savoy and Piedmont again became the theatre of the war between France and Italy. The French having undertaken the siege of Turin, the Duke and Prince Eugene forced their army in its entrenchments before the place, and obliged them to abandon Italy. The Emperor granted the Duke the investiture of the different estates which he had secured to him, on his accession to the grand alliance; such as Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, the country between the Tanaro and the Po, the Lumelline, Val Sessia, and the Vigevanese; to be possessed by him and his male descendants, as fiefs holding of the Emperor and the Empire.

The peace of Utrecht confirmed these possessions to the Duke; and England, the better to secure the equilibrium of Italy and Europe, granted him, by that treaty, the royal dignity, with the island of Sicily, which she had taken from Spain. That island was ceded to him under the express clause, that, on the extinction of the male line of Savoy, that kingdom should revert to Spain. By the same treaty they secured to the male descendants of that house, the right of succession to the Spanish monarchy; and that clause was confirmed by a solemn law passed in the Cortes of Spain, and by subsequent treaties concluded between these powers and Europe. The duke was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo (Dec. 21, 1713,) by the archbishop of that city; and the only persons who refused to acknowledge him in that new capacity were the Emperor and the Pope.

In proportion as France increased, Spain had declined in power, in consequence of the vices of her government, the feebleness of her princes, and the want of qualifications in their ministers and favourites. At length, under the reign of Charles II., the weakness of that monarchy was such, that France despoiled her with impunity, as appears by those cessions she was obliged to make by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryswick. Charles II. was the last prince of the Spanish line of the house of Austria. At his death (Nov. 1700,) a long and bloody war ensued about the succession, as we have already related. Two competitors appeared for the crown. Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., had on his side the will of Charles II., the efforts of his grandfather, and the wishes of the

Spanish nation. Charles of Austria, younger son of the Emperor Leopold I., was supported by a formidable league, which political considerations and a jealousy of the other powers had raised against France.

Philip, who had been placed on the throne by the Spaniards, had already resided at Madrid for several years, when the Austrian prince, his rival, assisted by the allied fleet, took possession of Barcelona (Oct. 9, 1705,) where he established his capital. The incessant defeats which France experienced at this period, obliged Philip twice to abandon his capital, and seek his safety in flight. He owed his restoration for the first time to Marshal Berwick, and the victory which that general gained over the allies near Almanza, in New Castille (April 25, 1707.) The archduke having afterwards advanced as far as Madrid, the Duke de Vendome undertook to repulse him. That General, in conjunction with Philip V., defeated the allies, who were commanded by General Stahremberg, near Villa Viciosa (Dec. 10, 1710.) These two victories contributed to establish Philip on his throne. The death of Joseph I., which happened soon after, and the elevation of his brother, the Archduke Charles, to the Imperial throne and the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, accelerated the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, by which the Spanish monarchy was preserved to Philip V. and his descendants. They deprived him, however, in virtue of that treaty, of the Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Italy, such as the Milanais, the ports of Tuscany, and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.

The conditions which England had exacted at the treaty of Utrecht, to render effectual the renunciation of Philip V. to the crown of France, as well as that of the French princes to the monarchy of Spain, having made it necessary to assemble the Cortes or States-General, Philip took advantage of that circumstance to change the order of succession which till then had subsisted in Spain, and which was known by the name of the *Castilian Succession*. A law was passed at the Cortes (1713,) by which it was ordained that females should never be admitted to the crown, except in default of the male line of Philip; that the male heirs should succeed according to the order of primogeniture; that, failing the male line of that prince, the crown should fall to the eldest daughter of the last reigning king, and her descendants; and, failing these, to the sister or nearest relation of the last king; always keeping in force the right of primogeniture, and the preference of the male heirs in the order of succession.

France, by the sixtieth article of the treaty of the Pyrenees, having renounced the protection of Portugal, the war between

Spain and this latter power was resumed with new vigour. Alphonso VI., King of Portugal, finding himself abandoned by his allies, resolved to throw himself on the favour of England. The English granted him supplies, in virtue of a treaty which he concluded with them (June 23d 1661,) and by which he ceded to them the city of Tangiers in Africa, and the isle of Bombay in India. France, who well knew that it was her interest not to abandon Portugal entirely, rendered her likewise all the secret assistance in her power. The Count Schomberg passed over to that kingdom with a good number of officers, and several companies of French troops. The Portuguese, under the command of that General, gained two victories over the Spaniards at Almexial, near Estremos (1663,) and at Montes Claros, or Villa Viciosa (1665,) which re-established their affairs, and contributed to secure the independence of Portugal. When the war took place about the Right of *Devolution*, the Court of Lisbon formed a new alliance with France. Spain then learned that it would be more for her interest to abandon her projects of conquering Portugal, and accept the proposals of accommodation tendered to her by the mediation of England.

It happened, in the meantime, that Alphonso VI., a prince of vicious habits, and of a ferocious and brutal temper, was dethroned (Nov. 23d 1667,) and the Infant Don Pedro, his brother, was declared Regent of the kingdom. The Queen of Alphonso, Mary of Savoy, who had managed the whole intrigue, obtained, from the Court of Rome, a dissolution of her marriage with Alphonso, and espoused the Regent, her brother-in-law (April 2d 1668.) That prince would willingly have fulfilled the engagements which his predecessor had contracted with France, but the English Ambassador having drawn over the Cortes of Portugal to his interests, the Regent was obliged to make peace with Spain, which was signed at Lisbon, February 13th 1668. The Spaniards there treated with the Portuguese as a sovereign and independent nation. They agreed to make mutual restitution of all they had taken possession of during the war, with the exception of the city of Ceuta in Africa, which remained in the power of Spain. The subjects of both states obtained the restoration of all property alienated or confiscated during the war. That peace was followed by another, which Portugal concluded at the Hague, with the United Provinces of the Netherlands (July 31st 1669,) who were permitted to retain the conquests they had made from the Portuguese in the East Indies.

The Court of Lisbon was soon after involved in the war of the Spanish Succession which divided all Europe. Don Pedro II. had at first acknowledged Philip V., and even contracted an

alliance with him ; but yielding afterwards to the influence of the British minister, as well as of the Court of Vienna, he joined the Grand Alliance against France.³ The Portuguese made a distinguished figure in that war, chiefly during the campaign of 1706, when, with the assistance of the English, they penetrated as far as Madrid, and there proclaimed Charles of Austria.

The Portuguese, by one of the articles of their treaty of accession to the grand alliance, had been given to expect, that certain important places in Spanish Estremadura and Galicia would be ceded to them at the general peace. That engagement was never fulfilled. The treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht (6th February 1715,) between Spain and Portugal, had ordered the mutual restitution of all conquests made during the war. The treaty of Lisbon, of 1668, was then renewed, and especially the articles which stipulated for the restitution of all confiscated property. The only point which they yielded to the Portuguese, was that which referred to the colony of St. Sacramento, which the Portuguese governor of Rio Janeiro had established (1680) on the northern bank of the river La Plata, in South America, which was opposed by Spain. By the sixth article of her treaty with Portugal, she renounced all her former claims and pretensions over the above colony.

A similar dispute had arisen between France and Portugal, relative to the northern bank of the Amazons river, and the territories about Cape North, in America, which the French maintained belonged to them, as making part of French Guiana. The Portuguese having constructed there the fort of Macapa, it was taken by the French governor of Cayenne. By the treaty of Utrecht, it was agreed between France and Portugal that both banks of the river Amazons should belong entirely to Portugal ; and that France should renounce all right and pretensions whatever to the territories of Cape North, lying between the rivers Amazons and Japoc, or Vincent Pinson, in South America.

In England, an interregnum of eleven years followed the death of Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Independent party, passed two Acts of Parliament, one of which abolished the House of Lords, and the other the royal dignity. The kingly office was suppressed, as useless to the nation, oppressive and dangerous to the interests and liberties of the people ; and it was decided, that whoever should speak of the restoration of the Stuarts, should be regarded as a traitor to his country. The kingdom being thus changed into a republic, Cromwell took on himself the chief direction of affairs. This ambitious man was not long in monopolizing the sovereign authority (1653.) He abolished

the Parliament called the *Rump*, which had conferred on him his power and military commission. He next assembled a new Parliament of the three kingdoms, to the number of one hundred and forty-four members; and he took care to have it composed of individuals whom he knew to be devoted to his interests. Accordingly, they resigned the whole authority into his hands. An act, called the Act of Government, conferred on him the supreme authority, under the title of Protector of the three kingdoms; with the privilege of making war and peace, and assembling every three years a Parliament, which should exercise the legislative power conjunctly with himself.

Cromwell governed England with a more uncontrolled power than that of her kings had been. In 1651, he passed the famous Navigation Act, which contributed to increase the commerce of Great Britain, and gave her marine a preponderance over that of all other nations. That extraordinary man raised England in the estimation of foreigners, and made his Protectorate respected by all Europe. After a war which he had carried on against the Dutch, he obliged them, by the treaty of Westminster (1654,) to lower their flag to British vessels, and to abandon the cause of the Stuarts. Entering into alliance with France against Spain, he took from the latter the island of Jamaica (1655) and the port of Dunkirk (1658.)

After his death, the Generals of the army combined to restore the old Parliament, called the *Rump*. Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father, soon resigned the Protectorate (April 22, 1659.) Dissensions having arisen between the Parliament and the Generals, Monk, who was governor of Scotland, marched to the assistance of the Parliament; and after having defeated the Independent Generals, he proceeded to assemble a new Parliament composed of both Houses. No sooner was this Parliament assembled, than they decided for the restoration of the Stuarts, in the person of Charles II. (18th May 1660.)

That Prince made his public entry into London, May 29, 1660. His first care was to take vengeance on those who had been chiefly instrumental in the death of his father. He rescinded all Acts of Parliament passed since the year 1633; and re-established Episcopacy both in England and Scotland. Instigated by his propensity for absolute power, and following the maxims which he had imbibed from his predecessors, he adopted measures which were opposed by the Parliament; and even went so far as more than once to pronounce their dissolution. His reign, in consequence, was a scene of faction and agitation, which proved the forerunners of a new revolution.⁴ The appellation of *Whigs* and *Tories*, so famous in English history,

took its rise in his reign. We could almost, however, pardon Charles for his faults and irregularities, in consideration of the benevolence and amiableness of his character. But it was otherwise with James II., who succeeded his brother on the British throne (16th Feb. 1685.) That Prince alienated the minds of his subjects by his haughty demeanour, and his extravagant zeal for the church of Rome, and the Jesuits his confessors. Scarcely was he raised to the throne, when he undertook to change the religion of his country, and to govern still more despotically than his brother had done. Encouraged by Louis XIV., who offered him money and troops, he was the first King of England that had kept on foot an army in time of peace, and caused the legislature to decide, that the King can dispense with the laws. Availing himself of this decision, he dispensed with the several statutes issued against the Catholics; he permitted them the public exercise of their religion within the three kingdoms, and gradually gave them a preference in all places of trust. At length, he even solicited the Pope to send a nuncio to reside at his Court; and on the arrival of Ferdinand Dada, to whom Innocent XI. had confided this mission, he gave him a public and solemn entry to Windsor (1687.) Seven bishops, who had refused to publish the declaration respecting Catholics, were treated as guilty of sedition, and imprisoned by his order in the Tower.

During these transactions, the Queen, Mary of Modena, happened to be delivered of a Prince (20th June, 1688,) known in history by the name of the Pretender. As her Majesty had had no children for more than six years, it was not difficult to gain credit to a report, that the young Prince was a supposititious child. James II., by his first marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, had two daughters, both Protestants; and regarded, till then, as heirs to the crown. Mary, the eldest, was married to William, Prince of Orange, and Anne, the youngest, to George, younger son of Frederic III., King of Denmark. The English Protestants had flattered themselves that all their wrongs and misfortunes would terminate with the death of James II. and the accession of the Princess of Orange to the throne. Being disappointed in these expectations by the birth of the Prince of Wales, their only plan was to dethrone the King. The Tories even joined with the Whigs in offering the crown to the Prince of Orange. William III., supported by the Dutch fleet, made a descent on England, and landed fifteen thousand men at Torbay (5th November, 1688,) without experiencing the smallest resistance on the part of James, who, seeing himself abandoned by the military, took the resolution

of withdrawing to France, where he had already sent his Queen and his son, the young Prince of Wales. He afterwards returned to Ireland, where he had a strong party; but being conquered by William at the battle of the Boyne (11th July 1690,) he was obliged to return to France, where he ended his days.

Immediately after the flight of James, the Parliament of England declared, by an act, that as he had violated the fundamental law of the constitution, and abandoned the kingdom, the throne was become vacant. They, therefore, unanimously conferred the crown on William III., Prince of Orange, and Mary his spouse (Feb. 22, 1689;) intrusting the administration of affairs to the Prince alone. In redressing the grievances of the nation, they set new limits to the royal authority. By an Act, called the *Declaration of Rights*, they decreed, that the King could neither suspend, nor dispense with the laws; that he could institute no new courts, nor levy money under any pretence whatever, nor maintain an army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament. Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland (1694,) and the liberty of the press sanctioned. The succession of the crown was regulated by different Acts of Parliament, one of which fixed it in the Protestant line, to the exclusion of Catholics. Next after William and Mary and their descendants, was the Princess Anne and her descendants. A subsequent Act conferred the succession on the House of Hanover (1701,) under the following conditions:—That the King or Queen of that family, on their accession to the throne, should be obliged to conform to the High Church, and the laws of 1689; that without the consent of Parliament, they should never engage the nation in any war for the defence of their hereditary dominions, nor go out of the kingdom; and that they should never appoint foreigners to offices of trust.

The rivalry between France and England assumed a higher tone under the reign of William III.; and was increased by the powerful efforts which France was making to improve her marine, and extend her navigation and her commerce. The colonies which she founded in America and the Indies, by bringing the two nations more into contact, tended to foment their jealousies, and multiply subjects of discord and division between them. From that time England eagerly seized every occasion for occupying France on the Continent of Europe; and the whole policy of William, as we have seen, had no other aim than to thwart the ambitious views of Louis XIV. If this rivalry excited and prolonged wars which inflicted many calamities on the world, it became likewise a powerful stimulus for the contending nations to develop their whole faculties; to

make the highest attainments in the sciences, or which they were susceptible ; and to carry arts and civilization to the remotest countries in the world.

William III. was succeeded by Anne (1702.) It was in her reign that the grand union between England and Scotland was accomplished, which incorporated them into one kingdom, by means of the same order of succession, and only one Parliament. That Princess had the honour of maintaining the balance of Europe against France, by the clauses which she got inserted into the treaty of Utrecht. At her death (1st August 1714,) the throne of Great Britain passed to George I., the Elector of Hanover, whose mother, Sophia, derived her right to the British throne from James I., her maternal grandfather.

The power and political influence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands had increased every day, since Spain acknowledged their independence by the treaty of Munster (1648.) Their extensive commerce to all parts of the globe, and their flourishing marine, attracted the admiration of all Europe. Sovereigns courted their alliance ; and the Hague, the capital of the States-General, became, in course of time, the centre of European politics. That Republic was the rival of England in all her commercial relations ; and she ventured also to dispute with her the empire of the sea, by refusing to lower her flag to British vessels. These disputes gave rise to bloody wars between the two States, in which the famous Dutch Admirals, Tromp and De Ruyter, distinguished themselves by their maritime exploits. De Ruyter entered the Thames with the Dutch fleet (1667,) advanced to Chatham, burnt the vessels in the roads there, and threw the city of London into great consternation. Nevertheless, by the treaties of Breda (1667) and Westminster (1654,) they agreed that their vessels and fleets should lower their flag when they met either one or more ships carrying the British flag, and that over all the sea, from Cape Finisterre in Galicia, to the centre of Statt in Norway ; but the States-General preserved Surinam, which they had conquered during the war ; and at the treaty of commerce which was signed at Breda, the navigation act was modified in their favour, in so far that the produce and merchandise of Germany were to be considered as productions of the soil of the Republic.

It was during these wars that a change took place with regard to the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces. William II., Prince of Orange, had alienated the hearts of his subjects by his attempts against their liberties ; and having, at his death, left his wife, the daughter of Charles I. of England, pregnant of a son (1650,) the States-General took the opportunity of leaving

that office vacant, and taking upon themselves the direction of affairs. The suspicions which the House of Orange had excited in Cromwell by their alliance with the Stuarts, and the resentment of John de Witt, Pensionary of Holland, against the Stadtholder, caused a secret article to be added to the treaty of Westminster, by which the States of Holland and West Friesland engaged never to elect William, the posthumous son of William II., to be Stadtholder; and never to allow that the office of Captain-General of the Republic should be conferred on him. John de Witt likewise framed a regulation known by the name of the *Perpetual Edict*, which separated the Stadtholdership from the office of Captain and Admiral-General, and which enacted, that these functions should never be discharged by the same individual. Having failed, however, in his efforts to make the States-General adopt this regulation, which they considered as contrary to the union, John de Witt contented himself with obtaining the approbation of the States of Holland, who even went so far as to sanction the entire suppression of the Stadtholdership.

Matters continued in this situation until the time when Louis XIV. invaded Holland. His alarming progress caused a revolution in favour of the Prince of Orange. The ruling faction, at the head of which was John de Witt, then lost the good opinion of the people. He was accused of having neglected military affairs, and left the State without defence, and a prey to the enemy. The first signal of revolution was given by the small town of Veere in Zealand. William was there proclaimed Stadtholder (June 1672,) and the example of Veere was soon followed by all the cities of Holland and Zealand. Every where the people compelled the magistrates to confer the Stadtholdership on the young Prince. The *Perpetual Edict* was abolished, and the Stadtholdership confirmed to William III. by the Assembly of States. They even rendered this dignity, as well as the office of Captain-General, hereditary to all the male and legitimate descendants of the Prince. It was on this occasion that the two brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, were massacred by the people assembled at the Hague.

After William was raised to the throne of Great Britain, he still retained the Stadtholdership, with the offices of Captain and Admiral-General of the Republic. England and Holland, united under the jurisdiction of the same prince, acted thenceforth in concert to thwart the ambitious designs of Louis XIV.; and he felt the effects of their power chiefly in the war of the Spanish Succession, when England and the States-General made extraordinary efforts to maintain the balance of the Continent

which they thought in danger. It was in consideration of these efforts that they guaranteed to the Dutch, by the treaty of the Grand Alliance, as well as by that of Utrecht, a barrier against France, which was more amply defined by the *Barrier Treaty*, signed at Antwerp (15th November 1715,) under the mediation and guaranty of Great Britain. The provinces and towns of the Netherlands, both those that had been possessed by Charles II., and those that France had surrendered by the treaty of Utrecht, were transferred to the Emperor and the House of Austria, on condition that they should never be ceded under any title whatever; neither to France, nor to any other prince except the heirs and successors of the House of Austria in Germany. It was agreed that there should always be kept in the Low Countries a body of Austrian troops, from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, of which the Emperor was to furnish three-fifths, and the States-General the remainder. Finally, the States-General were allowed a garrison, entirely composed of their own troops, in the cities and castles of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, and the fortress of Kenock; while the Emperor engaged to contribute a certain sum annually for the maintenance of these troops.

Switzerland, since the confirmation of her liberty and independence by the peace of Westphalia, had constantly adhered to the system of neutrality which she had adopted; and taken no part in the broils of her neighbours, except by furnishing troops to those powers with whom she was in alliance. The fortunate inability which was the natural consequence of her union, pointed out this line of conduct, and even induced the European States to respect the Helvetic neutrality.

This profound peace, which Switzerland enjoyed by means of that neutrality, was never interrupted, except by occasional domestic quarrels, which arose from the difference of their religious opinions. Certain families, from the canton of Schweitz, had fled to Zurich on account of their religious tenets, and had been protected by that republic. This started up a war (1656) between the Catholic cantons and the Zurichers, with their allies the Bernese; but it was soon terminated by the peace of Baden, which renewed the clauses of the treaty of 1531, relative to these very subjects of dispute. Some attempts having afterwards been made against liberty of conscience, in the county of Toggenburg, by the Abbé of St. Gall, a new war broke out (1712,) between five of the Catholic cantons, and the two Protestant cantons of Zurich and Berne. These latter expelled the Abbé of St. Gall from his estates, and dispossessed the Catholics of the county of Baden, with a considerable part of the free bailiwicks, which

were granted to them by the treaty concluded at Araw. The Abbé then saw himself abandoned by the Catholic cantons; and it was only in virtue of a treaty, which he concluded with Zurich and Berne (1718,) that his successor obtained his restoration.

Sweden, during the greater part of this period, supported the first rank among the powers of the North. The vigour of her government, added to the weakness of her neighbours, and the important advantages which the treaties of Stolbova, Stumsdorf, Bromsbro, and Westphalia had procured her, secured this superiority; and gave her the same influence in the North that France held in the South. Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, held the reins of government in Sweden about the middle of the seventeenth century; but to gratify her propensity for the fine arts, she resolved to abdicate the crown (1654.) Charles Gustavus, Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts, her cousin-german, succeeded her, under the title of Charles X. Being nurtured in the midst of arms, and ambitious only of wars and battles, he was anxious to distinguish himself on the throne. John Casimir, King of Poland, having provoked him, by protesting against his accession to the crown of Sweden, Charles made this an occasion of breaking the treaty of Stumsdorf, which was still in force, and invaded Poland. Assisted by Frederic William, the Elector of Brandenburg, whom he had attached to his interests, he gained a splendid victory over the Poles near Warsaw (July 1656.) At that crisis, the fate of Poland would have been decided, if the Czar, Alexis Michaelovitz, who was also at war with the Poles, had chosen to make common cause with her new enemies; but Alexis thought it more for his advantage to conclude a truce with the Poles, and attack the Swedes in Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia. The Emperor Leopold and the King of Denmark followed the example of the Czar; and the Elector of Brandenburg, after obtaining the sovereignty of the dutchy of Prussia, by the treaty which he concluded with Poland at We-lau, acceded in like manner to this league,—the object of which was to secure the preservation of Poland, and maintain the equilibrium of the North.

Attacked by so many and such powerful enemies, the King of Sweden determined to withdraw his troops from Poland, and direct his principal force against Denmark. Having made himself master of Holstein, Sleswick, and Jutland, he passed the Belts on the ice (January 1658) with his army and artillery, and advanced towards the capital of the kingdom. This bold step intimidated the Danes so much, that they submitted to those exceedingly severe conditions which Charles made them sign at Roschild (February 1658.) Scarcely was this treaty concluded.

when the King of Sweden broke it anew; and under different pretexts, laid siege to Copenhagen. His intention was, if he had carried that place, to raze it to the ground, to annihilate the kingdom of Denmark, and fix his residence in the province of Schonen, where he could maintain his dominion over the North and the Baltic. The besieged Danes, however, made a vigorous defence, and they were encouraged by the example of Fred-eric III., who superintended in person the whole operations of the siege; nevertheless, they must certainly have yielded, had not the Dutch, who were alarmed for their commerce in the Baltic, sent a fleet to the assistance of Denmark. These republicans fought an obstinate naval battle with the Swedes in the Sound (29th October 1658.) The Swedish fleet was repulsed, and the Dutch succeeded in relieving Copenhagen, by throwing in a supply of provisions and ammunition.

The King of Sweden persisted, nevertheless, in his determination to reduce that capital. He was not even intimidated by the treaties which France, England, and Holland, had concluded at the Hague, for maintaining the equilibrium of the North; but a premature death, at the age of thirty-eight, put an end to his ambitious projects (23d February 1660.) The regents who governed the kingdom during the minority of his son Charles XI., immediately set on foot negotiations with all the powers that were in league against Sweden. By the peace which they concluded at Copenhagen with Denmark (July 3, 1660,) they surrendered to that crown several of their late conquests; reserving to themselves only the provinces of Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland, and Bohus. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the protegee of Charles X., was secured by that treaty in the sovereignty of that part of Sleswick, which had been guaranteed to him by a former treaty concluded at Copenhagen. The war with Poland, and her allies the Elector of Brandenburg and the Emperor, was terminated by the peace of Oliva (May 3d 1660.) The King of Poland gave up his pretensions to the crown of Sweden; while the former ceded to the latter the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, and the islands belonging to them; to be possessed on the same terms that had been agreed on at the treaty of Stumsdorf in 1635. The Duke of Courland was re-established in his dutchy, and the sovereignty of ducal Prussia confirmed to the House of Brandenburg. Peace between Sweden and Russia was concluded at Kardis in Esthonia; while the latter power surrendered to Sweden all the places which she had conquered in Livonia.

Sweden was afterwards drawn into the war against the Dutch by Louis XIV., when she experienced nothing but disasters.

She was deprived of all her provinces in the Empire, and only regained possession of them in virtue of the treaties of Zell, Nimeguen, St. Germain-en-Laye, Fountainbleau, and Lunden (1679,) which she concluded successively with the powers in league against France. Immediately after that peace, a revolution happened in the government of Sweden. The abuse which the nobles made of their privileges, the extravagant authority claimed by the senate, and the different methods which the grandees employed for gradually usurping the domains of the crown, had excited the jealousy of the other orders of the state. It is alleged, that John Baron Gillenstiern, had suggested to Charles XI. the idea of taking advantage of this discontent to augment the royal authority, and humble the arrogance of the senate and the nobility. In compliance with his advice, the King assembled the Estates of the kingdom at Stockholm (1680;) and having quartered some regiments of his own guards in the city, he took care to remove such of the nobles as might give the greatest cause of apprehension. An accusation was lodged at the Diet against those ministers who had conducted the administration during the King's minority. To them were attributed the calamities and losses of the state, and for these they were made responsible. The Senate was also implicated. They were charged with abusing their authority; and it was proposed that the States should make investigation, whether the powers which the Senate had assumed were conformable to the laws of the kingdom. The States declared that the King was not bound by any other form of government than that which the constitution prescribed; that the Senate formed neither a fifth order, nor an intermediate power between the King and the States; and that it ought to be held simply as a Council, with whom the King might consult and advise.

A *College of Reunion*, so called, was also established at this Diet, for the purpose of making inquiry as to the lands granted, sold, mortgaged, or exchanged by preceding Kings, either in Sweden or Livonia; with an offer on the part of the crown to reimburse the proprietors for such sums as they had originally paid for them. This proceeding made a considerable augmentation to the revenues of the crown; but a vast number of proprietors were completely ruined by it. A subsequent diet went even further than that of 1680. They declared, by statute, that though the King was enjoined to govern his dominions according to the laws, this did not take from him the power of altering these laws. At length the act of 1693 decreed that the King was absolute master, and sole depository of the sovereign power; without being responsible for his actions to any power on earth;

and that he was entitled to govern the kingdom according to his will and pleasure.

It was in virtue of these different enactments and concessions, that the absolute power which had been conferred on Charles XI., was transmitted to the hands of his son Charles XII., who was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded his father (April 1, 1697.) By the abuse which this Prince made of these dangerous prerogatives, he plunged Sweden into an abyss of troubles; and brought her down from that high rank which she had occupied in the political system of Europe, since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. The youth of Charles appeared to his neighbours to afford them a favourable opportunity for recovering what they had lost by the conquests of his predecessors. Augustus II., King of Poland, being desirous to regain Livonia, and listening to the suggestions of a Livonian gentleman, named John Patkul, who had been proscribed in Sweden, he set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Russia and Copenhagen; the result of which was, a secret and offensive alliance concluded between these three powers against Sweden (1699.) Peter the Great, who had just conquered Azoff at the mouth of the Don, and equipped his first fleet, was desirous also to open up the coasts of the Baltic, of which his predecessors had been dispossessed by Sweden. War accordingly broke out in the course of the year 1700. The King of Poland invaded Livonia; the Danes fell upon Sleswick, where they attacked the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the ally of Sweden; while the Czar, at the head of an army of eighty thousand men, laid siege to the city of Narva.

The King of Sweden, attacked by so many enemies at once, directed his first efforts against Denmark, where the danger appeared most pressing. Assisted by the fleets of England and Holland, who had guaranteed the last peace, he made a descent on the Isle of Zealand, and advanced rapidly towards Copenhagen. This obliged Frederic IV. to conclude a special peace with him at Travendahl (Aug. 18, 1700,) by which that prince consented to abandon his allies, and restore the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp to the same state in which he had been before the war. Next directing his march against the Czar in Esthonia, the young King forced the Russians from their entrenchments before Narva (Nov. 30,) and made prisoners of all the general and principal officers of the Russian army; among others, Field-Marshal General the Duke de Croi.

Having thus got clear of the Russians, the Swedish Monarch then attacked King Augustus, who had introduced a Saxon army into Poland, without being authorized by that Republic. Charles vanquished that prince in the three famous battles of Riga (1701,

Clissau (1702,) and Pultusk (1703;) and obliged the Poles to depose him, and elect in his place Stanislaus Leckinski, Palatine of Posen, and a protégé of his own. Two victories which were gained over the Saxons, and their allies the Russians, the one at Punie (1704,) and the other at Fraustadt (1706,) caused Stanislaus to be acknowledged by the whole Republic of Poland, and enabled the King of Sweden to transfer the seat of war to Saxony. Having marched through Silesia, without the previous authority of the Court of Vienna, he took Leipzig, and compelled Augustus to sign a treaty of peace at Alt-Ranstadt, by which that Prince renounced his alliance with the Czar, and acknowledged Stanislaus legitimate King of Poland. John Patkul being delivered up to the King of Sweden, according to an article in that treaty, was broken on the wheel, for having been the principal instigator of the war.

The prosperity of Charles XII., had now come to an end. From this time he experienced only a series of reverses, which were occasioned as much by his passion for war, as by his indiscretions, and the unconquerable obstinacy of his character. The Russians had taken advantage of his long sojourn in Poland and Saxony, and conquered the greater part of Ingria and Livonia. The Czar had now advanced into Poland, where he had demanded of the Poles to declare an interregnum, and elect a new King. In this state of matters, the King of Sweden left Saxony to march against the Czar; and compelled him to evacuate Poland, and retire on Smolensko. Far from listening, however, to the equitable terms of peace which Peter offered him, he persisted in his resolution to march on to Moscow, in the hope of dethroning the Czar, as he had dethroned Augustus. The discontent which the innovations of the Czar had excited in Russia, appeared to Charles a favourable opportunity for effecting his object; but on reaching the neighbourhood of Mohilew, he suddenly changed his purpose, and, instead of directing his route towards the capital of Russia, he turned to the right, and penetrated into the interior of the Ukraine, in order to meet Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacs, who had offered to join him with all his troops. Nothing could have been more imprudent than this determination. By thus marching into the Ukraine, he separated himself from General Lewenhaupt, who had brought him, according to orders, a powerful reinforcement from Livonia; and trusted himself among a fickle and inconstant people, disposed to break faith on every opportunity.

This inconsiderate step of Charles did not escape the penetration of the Czar, who knew well how to profit by it. Putting himself at the head of a chosen body, he intercepted General

Lewenhaupt, and joined him at Desna, two miles from Pro-poisk, in the Palatinate of Mscislaw. The battle which he fought with that general (October 9, 1708,) was most obstinate, and, by the confession of the Czar, the first victory which the Russians had gained over regular troops. The remains of Lewenhaupt's army, having joined the King in the Ukraine, Charles undertook the siege of Pultowa, situated on the banks of the Vorsklaw, at the extremity of that province. It was near this place, that the famous battle was fought (8th July, 1709,) which blasted all the laurels of the King of Sweden. The Czar gained there a complete victory. Nine thousand Swedes were left on the field of battle; and fourteen thousand, who had retired with General Lewenhaupt, towards Perevolatschna, between the Vorsklaw and the Nieper, were made prisoners of war, three days after the action. Charles, accompanied by his ally Mazeppa, saved himself with difficulty at Bender in Turkey.

This disastrous route revived the courage of the enemies of Sweden. The alliance was renewed between the Czar, Augustus II., and Frederic IV., King of Denmark. Stanislaus was abandoned. All Poland again acknowledged Augustus II. The Danes made a descent on Schonen; and the Czar achieved the conquest of Ingria, Livonia, and Carelia. The States that were leagued against France in the war of the Spanish Succession, wishing to prevent Germany from becoming the theatre of hostilities, concluded a treaty at the Hague (31st March 1710,) by which they undertook, under certain conditions, to guarantee the neutrality of the Swedish provinces in Germany, as well as that of Sleswick and Jutland; but the King of Sweden having constantly declined acceding to this neutrality, the possessions of the Swedes in Germany were also seized and conquered in succession. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the nephew of Charles XII., was involved in his disgrace, and stripped of his estates by the king of Denmark (1714.)

In the midst of these disasters, the inflexible King of Sweden persisted in prolonging his sojourn at Bender, making repeated efforts to rouse the Turks against the Russians. He did not return from Turkey till 1714, when his affairs were already totally ruined. The attempts which he then made, either to renew the war in Poland, or invade the provinces of the Empire, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. A formidable league was raised against him; besides the Czar, the Kings of Poland, Denmark, Prussia, and England, joined it. Stralsund and Wismar, the only places which Sweden still retained in Germany, fell into the hands of the allies; while the

Czar added to these losses the conquest of Finland and Savolax. In a situation so desperate, Charles, by the advice of his minister, Baron Gortz, set on foot a special and secret negotiation with the Czar, which took place in the isle of Aland, in course of the year 1718. There it was proposed to reinstate Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; to restore to Sweden her possessions in the Empire; and even to assist her in conquering Norway; by way of compensation for the loss of Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, and Esthonia, which she was to cede to the Czar.

That negotiation was on the point of being finally closed, when it was broken off by the unexpected death of Charles XII. That unfortunate prince was slain (December 11th, 1718,) at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, while visiting the trenches; being only thirty-seven years of age, and leaving the affairs of his kingdom in a most deplorable state.

The new regency of Sweden, instead of remaining in friendship with the Czar, changed their policy entirely. Baron de Gortz, the friend of the late King, fell a sacrifice to the public displeasure, and a negotiation was opened with the Court of Great Britain. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded at Stockholm (Nov. 20, 1719,) between Great Britain and Sweden. George I., on obtaining the cession of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, as Elector of Hanover, engaged to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, to prevent any further invasion from the Czar, and procure for Sweden more equitable terms of peace on the part of that Prince. The example of Great Britain was soon followed by the other allied powers, who were anxious to accommodate matters with Sweden. By the treaty concluded at Stockholm (21st January, 1720,) the King of Prussia got the town of Stettin, and that part of Pomerania, which lies between the Oder and the Peene. The King of Denmark consented to restore to Sweden the towns of Stralsund and Wismar, with the isle of Rugen, and the part of Pomerania, which extends from the sea to the river Peene. Sweden, on her side, renounced in favour of Denmark, her exemption from the duties of the Sound and the two Belts, which had been guaranteed to her by former treaties. The Czar was the only person who, far from being intimidated by the menaces of England, persisted in his resolution of not making peace with Sweden, except on the conditions which he had dictated to her. The war was, therefore, continued between Russia and Sweden, during the two campaigns of 1720 and 1721. Different parts of the Swedish coast were laid desolate by the Czar, who put all to fire and sword. To stop the progress of these devastations, the Swedes at length consented to accept the peace which

the Czar offered them, which was finally signed at Nystadt (13th September 1721.) Finland was surrendered to Sweden on condition of her formally ceding to the Czar the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia; their limits to be determined according to the regulations of the treaty.

The ascendancy which Sweden had gained in the North since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, had become so fatal to Denmark, that she was on the point of being utterly subverted, and effaced from the number of European powers. Nor did she extricate herself from the disastrous wars which she had to support against Charles X., until she had sacrificed some of her best provinces; such as Schonen, Bleckingen, Halland, and the government of Bohus, which Frederic III. ceded to Sweden by the treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen. It was at the close of this war that a revolution happened in the government of Denmark. Until that time, it had been completely under the aristocracy of the nobles; the throne was elective; and all power was concentrated in the hands of the senate, and the principal members of the nobility. The royal prerogative was limited to the command of the army, and the presidency in the Senate. The King was even obliged, by a special capitulation, in all affairs which did not require the concurrence of the Senate, to take the advice of four great officers of the crown, viz. the Grand Master, the Chancellor, the Marshal, and the Admiral; who were considered as so many channels or vehicles of the royal authority.

The state of exhaustion to which Denmark was reduced at the time she made peace with Sweden, obliged Frederic III. to convoke an assembly of the States-General of the kingdom. These, which were composed of three orders, viz. the nobility, the clergy, and the burgesses, had never been summoned together in that form since the year 1536. At their meeting at Copenhagen, the two inferior orders reproached the nobles with having been the cause of all the miseries and disorders of the State, by the exorbitant and tyrannical power which they had usurped; and what tended still more to increase their animosity against them, was the obstinacy with which they maintained their privileges and exemptions from the public burdens, to the prejudice of the lower orders. One subject of discussion was, to find a tax, the proceeds of which should be applied to the most pressing wants of the State. The nobles proposed a duty on articles of consumption; but under restrictions with regard to themselves, that could not but exasperate the lower orders. The latter proposed, in testimony of their discontent, to let out to the highest bidder the fiefs of the crown, which the nobles held at rents extremely moderate. This proposal was highly resented

by the nobility, who regarded it as a blow aimed at their rights and properties; and they persisted in urging a tax on articles of consumption, such as they had proposed. Certain unguarded expressions which escaped some of the members of the nobility, gave rise to a tumult of indignation, and suggested to the two leaders of the clergy and the burgesses, viz. the bishop of Zealand and the burgomaster of Copenhagen, the idea of framing a declaration for the purpose of rendering the crown hereditary, both in the male and female descendants of Frederic III. It was not difficult for them to recommend this project to their respective orders, who flattered themselves that, under a hereditary monarchy, they would enjoy that equality which was denied them under an aristocracy of the nobles. The act of this declaration having been approved and signed by the two orders, was presented in their name to the Senate, who rejected it, on the ground that the States-General then assembled, had no right to deliberate on that proposition; but the clergy and the burgesses, without being disconcerted, went in a body to the King, carrying with them the Act which offered to make the crown hereditary in his family. The nobles having made a pretence of wishing to quit the city in order to break up the Diet, care was taken to shut the doors. The members of the Senate and the nobility had then no other alternative left than to agree to the resolution of the two inferior orders; and the offer of the crown was made to the King by the three orders conjunctly (13th October 1660.) They then tendered him the capitulation, which was annulled; and at the same time they liberated him from the oath which he had taken on the day of his coronation. A sort of dictatorship was then conferred on him, to regulate the new constitutional charter, according to his good pleasure. All the orders of the State then took a new oath of fealty and homage to him, while the King himself was subjected to no oath whatever. Finally, the three orders separately remitted an Act to the King, declaring the crown hereditary in all the descendants of Frederic III., both male and female; conferring on him and his successors an unlimited power; and granting him the privilege of regulating the order both of the regency and the succession to the throne.

Thus terminated that important revolution, without any disorder, and without shedding a single drop of blood. It was in virtue of those powers which the States had conferred on him, that the King published what is called the *Royal Law*, regarded as the only fundamental law of Denmark. The King was there declared absolute sovereign, above all human laws, acknowledging no superior but God, and uniting in his own person all the

rights and prerogatives of royalty, without any exception whatever. He could exercise these prerogatives in virtue of his own authority; but he was obliged to respect the Royal Law; and he could neither touch the Confession of Augsburg, which had been adopted as the national religion, nor authorize any partition of the kingdom, which was declared indivisible; nor change the order of succession as established by the Royal Law. That succession was lineal, according to the right of primogeniture and descent. Females were only admitted, failing all the male issue of Frederic III.; and the order in which they were to succeed, was defined with the most scrupulous exactness. The term of majority was fixed at the age of thirteen; and it was in the power of the reigning monarch to regulate, by his will, the tutorage and the regency during such minority.

This constitutional law gave the Danish government a vigour which it never had before; the effects of which were manifested in the war which Christian V. undertook against Sweden (1675,) in consequence of his alliance with Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg. The Danes had the advantage of the Swedes both by sea and land. Their fleet, under the command of Niels Juel, gained two naval victories over them, the one near the Isle of Oeland, and the other in the bay of Kiøge, on the coast of Zealand (1677.) That war was terminated by the peace of Lundon (Oct. 6th 1679,) which restored matters between the two nations, to the same footing on which they had been before the war. The severe check which Sweden received by the defeat of Charles XII., before Pultowa, tended to extricate Denmark from the painful situation in which she had been placed with respect to that power. The freedom of the Sound, which Sweden had maintained during her prosperity, was taken from her by the treaty of Stockholm, and by the explanatory articles of Fredericsburg, concluded between Sweden and Denmark, (14th June 1720.) That kingdom likewise retained, in terms of the treaty, the possession of the whole duchy of Sleswick, with a claim to the part belonging to the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Sweden was obliged to remove from under her protection.

Poland, at the commencement of this period, presented an afflicting spectacle, under the unfortunate reign of John Casimir, the brother and successor of Uladislaus VII. (1648.) Distracted at once by foreign wars and intestine factions, she seemed every moment on the brink of destruction; and while the neighbouring states were augmenting their forces, and strengthening the hands of their governments, Poland grew gradually weaker and weaker, and at length degenerated into absolute anarchy. The

origin of the *Liberum Veto* of the Poles, which allowed the opposition of a single member to frustrate the deliberations of the whole Diet, belongs to the reign of John Casimir. The first that suspended the Diet, by the interposition of his veto, was Schinski, member for Upita in Lithuania; his example, though at first disapproved, found imitators; and this foolish practice, which allowed one to usurp the prerogative of a majority, soon passed into a law, and a maxim of state.

Towards the end of the reign of Uladislaus VII. a murderous war had arisen in Poland, that of the Cossacs. This warlike people, of Russian origin, as their language and their religion prove, inhabited both banks of the Borysthenes, beyond Kiow; where they were subdivided into regiments, under the command of a general, called *Hetman*; and served as a military frontier for Poland against the Tartars and Turks. Some infringements that had been made on their privileges, added to the efforts which the Poles had made to induce their clergy to separate from the Greek Church, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, exasperated the Cossacs, and engendered among them a spirit of revolt (1647.) Assisted by the Turks of the Crimea, they invaded Poland, and committed terrible devastations. The Poles succeeded from time to time in pacifying them, and even concluded a treaty with them; but the minds of both parties being exasperated, hostilities always recommenced with every new offence. At length, their Hetman, Chmielniski, being hardly pressed by the Poles, took the resolution of soliciting the protection of Russia, and concluded a treaty with the Czar Alexis Michaelovitz (Jan. 16, 1654,) in virtue of which, Kiow and the other towns of the Ukraine, under the power of the Cossacs, were planted with Russian garrisons. It was on this occasion that the Czar retook the city of Smolensko from the Poles, as well as most of the districts that had been ceded to Poland, by the treaties of Dwilina and Viasma. That prince made also several other conquests from the Poles; he took possession of Wilna, and several places in Lithuania, at the very time when Charles X. was invading Poland, and threatening that country with entire destruction. The Czar, however, instead of following up his conquests, judged it more for his interest to conclude a truce with the Poles (1656,) that he might turn his arms against Sweden.

The peace of Oliva put an end to the war between Poland and Sweden; but hostilities were renewed between the Russians and the Poles, which did not terminate till the treaty of Andrussov (Jan. 1667.) The Czar restored to the Poles a part of his conquests; but he retained Smolensko, Novogorod-Sieverskoe,

Tchernigov, Kiow, and all the country of the Cossacs, beyond the Borysthenes or Dnieper. The Cossacs on this side the river were annexed to Poland, and as for those who dwelt near the mouth of the Dnieper, called *Zaporogs*, it was agreed that they should remain under the common jurisdiction of the two states; ready to serve against the Turks whenever circumstances might require it. The wars of which we have just spoken, were attended with troubles and dissensions, which reduced Poland to the most deplorable condition during the reign of John Casimir. That prince at length, disgusted with a crown which he had found to be composed of thorns, resolved to abdicate the throne (16th Sept. 1668;) and retiring to France, he there ended his days.

Michael Wiesnouiski, who succeeded John Casimir, after a stormy interregnum of seven months, had no other merit than that of being descended in a direct line from Coribut, the brother of Jagellon, King of Poland. His reign was a scene of great agitation, and of unbridled anarchy. Four diets were interrupted in less than four years; the war with the Cossacs was renewed; the Turks and the Tartars, the allies of the Cossacs, seized the city of Kaminiéc (1672,) the only bulwark of Poland against the Ottomans. Michael, being thrown into a state of alarm, concluded a disgraceful peace with the Turks; he gave up to them Kaminiéc and Podolia, with their ancient limits; and even agreed to pay them an annual tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats. The Ukraine, on this side the Borysthenes, was abandoned to the Cossacs, who were to be placed under the protection of the Turks. This treaty was not ratified by the Republic of Poland, who preferred to continue the war. John Sobieski, Grand General of the Crown, gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Choczim (Nov. 11th, 1673.) It took place the next day after the death of Michael, and determined the Poles to confer their crown on the victorious General.

Sobieski did ample justice to the choice of his fellow-citizens. The peace which he concluded at Zarowno with the Turks (26th Oct. 1676,) he relieved Poland from the tribute lately promised, and recovered some parts of the Ukraine; but the city of Kaminiéc was left in the power of the Ottomans, with a considerable portion of the Ukraine and Podolia. Poland then entered into an alliance with the House of Austria, against the Porte. Sobieski became the deliverer of Vienna; he signalized himself in the campaigns of 1683 and 1684; and if he did not gain any important advantages over the Turks, if he had not even the satisfaction of recovering Kaminiéc and Podolia, it must be ascribed to the incompetence of his means, and to the disunion and

indifference of the Poles, who refused to make a single sacrifice in the cause. Sobieski was even forced to have recourse to the protection of the Russians against the Turks; and saw himself reduced to the painful necessity of setting his hand to the definitive peace which was concluded with Russia at Moscow (May 6th, 1686,) by which Poland, in order to obtain the alliance of that power against the Ottomans, consented to give up Smolensko, Belia, Dorogobuz, Tchernigov, Starodub, and Novogorod-Sieverskoe, with their dependencies; as also the whole territory known by the name of Little Russia, situated on the left bank of the Borysthenes, between that river and the frontier of Putivli, as far as Perevoloczna. The city of Kiow, with its territory as determined by the treaty, was also included in that cession. Finally, the Cossacs, called *Zaporogs* and *Kudak*, who, according to the treaty of Andrussov, ought to have been dependencies of these two states, were reserved exclusively to Russia. Sobieski shed tears when he was obliged to sign that treaty at Leopold (or Lemberg,) in presence of the Russian ambassadors.

The war with the Turks did not terminate until the reign of Augustus II. the successor of John Sobieski. The peace of Carlowitz, which that prince concluded with the Porte (1699,) procured for Poland the restitution of Kaminiec, as well as that part of the Ukraine, which the peace of Zarowno had ceded to the Turks.

Russia became every day more prosperous under the princes of the House of Romanow. She gained a decided superiority over Poland, who had formerly dictated the law to her. Alexis Michaelovitz not only recovered from the Poles what they had conquered from Russia during the disturbances occasioned by the two pretenders of the name of Demetrius; we have already observed, that he dispossessed them of Kiow, and all that part of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, which lies on the left bank of the Borysthenes.

Theodore Alexievitz, the son and successor of Alexis Michaelovitz, rendered his reign illustrious by the wisdom of his administration. Guided by the advice of his enlightened minister, Prince Galitzin, he conceived the bold project of abolishing the hereditary orders of the nobility, and the prerogatives that were attached to them. These orders were destructive of all subordination in civil as well as in military affairs, and gave rise to a multitude of disputes and litigations, of which a court, named *Rozrad*, took cognizance. The Czar, in a grand assembly which he convoked at Moscow (1682,) abolished the hereditary rank of the nobles. He burnt the deeds and registers by which they were attested, and obliged every noble family to

produce the extracts of these registers, which they had in their possession, that they might be committed to the flames. That prince having no children of his own, had destined his younger brother Peter Alexievitz to be his successor, to the exclusion of John, his elder brother, on account of his incapacity. But, on the death of Theodore, both princes were proclaimed at once by the military, and the government was intrusted to the Princess Sophia, their elder sister, who assumed the title of Autocratix and Sovereign of all the Russias. Peter, who was the son of the second marriage of the Czar, was at that time only ten years of age. It was during the administration of the Princess Sophia that the peace of Moscow was concluded (May 6, 1686;) the clause of which contained an alliance, offensive and defensive, between Russia and Poland against the Porte.

Peter had no sooner attained the age of seventeen than he seized the reins of government, and deposed his sister Sophia, whom he sent to a convent. Endowed with an extraordinary genius, this Prince became the reformer of his Empire, which, under his reign, assumed an aspect totally new. By the advice of Le Fort, a native of Geneva, who had entered the Russian service, and whom he had received into his friendship and confidence, he turned his attention to every branch of the public administration. The military system was changed, and modelled after that of the civilized nations of Europe. He founded the maritime power of Russia, improved her finances, encouraged commerce and manufactures, introduced letters and arts into his dominions, and applied himself to reform the laws, to polish and refine the manners of the people.

Peter, being in alliance with Poland, engaged in the war against the Porte, and laid open the Black Sea by his conquest of the city and port of Azoff; and it was on this occasion that he equipped his first fleet at Woronitz. Azoff remained in his possession, by an article of the peace which was concluded with the Porte at Constantinople (13th July, 1700.) About the same time, Peter abolished the patriarchal dignity, which ranked the head of the Russian Church next to the Czar, and gave him a dangerous influence in the affairs of government. He transferred the authority of the patriarch to a college of fifteen persons, called the *Most Holy Synod*, whose duty it was to take cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, and in general, of all matters which had fallen within the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The members of this college were obliged to take the oath at the hands of the Sovereign, and to be appointed by him on the presentation of the Synod.

Being desirous of seeing and examining in person the man-

ners and customs of other nations, he undertook two different voyages into foreign countries, divested of that pomp which is the usual accompaniment of princes. During these travels, he cultivated the arts and sciences, especially those connected with commerce and navigation; he engaged men of talents in his services, such as naval officers, engineers, surgeons, artists, and mechanics of all kinds, whom he dispersed over his vast dominions, to instruct and improve the Russians. During his first voyage to Holland and England, the *Strelitzes*, the only permanent troops known in Russia before his time, revolted; they were first instituted by the Czar, John Basilovitz IV. They fought after the manner of the Janissaries, and enjoyed nearly the same privileges. Peter, with the intention of disbanding these seditious and undisciplined troops, had stationed them on the frontiers of Lithuania; he had also removed them from being his own body-guard, a service which he entrusted to the regiments raised by himself. This sort of degradation incensed the *Strelitzes*, who took the opportunity of the Czar's absence to revolt. They directed their march to the city of Moscow, with the design of deposing the Czar, and replacing Sophia on the throne; but they were defeated by the Generals Schein and Gordon, who had marched to oppose them. Peter, on his return, caused two thousand of them to be executed, and incorporated the rest among his troops. He afterwards employed foreign officers, either Germans or Swedes, to instruct the Russians in the military art.

It was chiefly during the war with Sweden that the Russian army was organized according to the European system. The Czar took advantage of the check he had sustained before Narva (Nov. 30, 1700,) to accomplish this important change in levying, equipping, and training all his troops after the German manner. He taught the Russians the art of combating and conquering the Swedes; and while the King of Sweden was bent on the ruin of Augustus II., and made but feeble efforts against the Czar, the latter succeeded in conquering Ingria from the Swedes, and laid open the navigation of the Baltic. He took the fortress of Noteburg (1702,) which he afterwards called Schlisselburg; he next made himself master of Nyenschantz, Kopori, and Jamp (now Jamburg) in Ingria. The port of Nyenchantz was entirely razed; and the Czar laid the foundation of St. Petersburg in one of the neighbouring islands of the Neva (May 27, 1703.) In the middle of winter he constructed the fort of Cronschlot to serve as a defence for the new city, which he intended to make the capital of his Empire, and the principal depôt for the commerce and marine of Russia. The fortune of this new capital

was decided by the famous battle of Pultowa (July 8, 1709.) which likewise secured the preponderance of Russia in the North.

Charles XII., who had taken refuge in Turkey, used every effort to instigate the Turks against the Russians; and he succeeded by dint of intrigue. The Porte declared war against the Czar towards the end of the year 1710; the latter opened the campaign of 1711 by an expedition which he undertook into Moldavia; but having rashly penetrated into the interior of that province, he was surrounded by the Grand Vizier near Falczi on the Pruth. Besieged in his camp by an army vastly superior to his own, and reduced to the last necessity, he found no other means of extricating himself from this critical situation, than by agreeing to a treaty, which he signed in the camp of Falczi (21st July 1711;) in virtue of which, he consented to restore to the Turks the fortress of Azoff, with its territory and its dependencies. This loss was amply compensated by the important advantages which the peace with Sweden, signed at Nystadt (Sept. 10, 1721,) procured the Czar. It was on this occasion that the Senate conferred on him the epithet of *Great*, the *Father of his Country*, and *Emperor of all the Russias*. His inauguration to the Imperial dignity took place, October 22d 1721, the very day of the rejoicing that had been appointed for the celebration of the peace. Peter himself put the Imperial crown on his own head.

That great prince had the vexation to see Alexis Czarowitz his son, and presumptive heir to the Empire, thwarting all his improvements, and caballing in secret with his enemies. Being at length compelled to declare that he had forfeited his right to the throne, he had him condemned to death as a traitor (1718.) In consequence of this tragical event, he published an Ukase, which vested in the reigning prince the privilege of nominating his successor, and even of changing the appointment whenever he might judge it necessary. This arrangement became fatal to Russia; the want of a fixed and permanent order of succession occasioned troubles and revolutions which frequently distracted the whole Empire. This law, moreover, made no provision in cases where the reigning prince might neglect to settle the succession during his life; as happened with Peter himself, who died without making or appointing any successor (Feb. 1725.) Catherine I., his spouse, ascended the throne, which, after a reign of two years, she transmitted to Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis.

In Hungary, the precautions that had been taken by the States of Presburg to establish civil and religious liberty on a solid basis, did not prevent disturbances from springing up in that king-

dom. The Court of Vienna, perceiving the necessity of consolidating its vast monarchy, whose incoherent parts were suffering from the want of unity, eagerly seized these occasions for extending its power in Hungary, where it was greatly circumscribed by the laws and constitution of the country. Hence those perpetual infringements of which the Hungarians had to complain; and those ever-recurring disturbances in which the Ottoman Turks, who shared with Austria the dominion of Hungary, were also frequently implicated.

Transylvania, as well as a great part of Hungary, was then dependent on the Turks. The Emperor Leopold I. having granted his protection to John Kemeny, Prince of Transylvania, against Michael Abaffi, a protégé of the Turks, a war between the two Empires seemed to be inevitable. The Diet of Hungary, which the Emperor had assembled at Presburg on this subject (1662,) was most outrageous. The States, before they would give any opinion as to the war against the Turks, demanded that their own grievances should be redressed; and the assembly separated without coming to any conclusion. The Turks took advantage of this dissension, and seized the fortress of Neuheusel, and several other places. The Emperor, incapable of opposing them, and distrustful of the Hungarian malecontents, had recourse to foreign aid. This he obtained at the Diet of the Empire; and Louis XIV. sent him a body of six thousand men, under command of the Count de Coligni. An action took place (1664) near St. Gothard, in which the French signalized their bravery. The Turks sustained a total defeat; but Montecuculi, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, failed to take advantage of his victory. A truce of twenty years was soon after concluded at Temeswar, in virtue of which the Turks retained Neuheusel, Waradin, and Novigrad. Michael Abaffi, their tributary and protégé, was continued in Transylvania; and both parties engaged to withdraw their troops from that province.

This treaty highly displeased the Hungarians, as it had been concluded without their concurrence. Their complaints against the Court of Vienna became louder than ever. They complained, especially, that the Emperor should entertain German troops in the kingdom; that he should intrust the principal fortresses to foreigners; and impose shackles on their religious liberties. The Court of Vienna having paid no regard to these grievances, several of the nobles entered into a league for the preservation of their rights; but they were accused of holding correspondence with the Turks, and conspiring against the person of the Emperor. The Counts Zrini, Nadaschdi, Frangepan, and Tattenbach

were condemned as guilty of high treason (1671,) and had their heads cut off on the scaffold. A vast number of the Protestant clergy were either banished or condemned to the galleys, as implicated in the conspiracy; but this severity, far from abating these disturbances, tended rather to augment them. The suppression of the dignity of Palatine of Hungary, which took place about the same time, added to the cruelties and extortions of all kinds practised by the German troops, at length raised a general insurrection, which ended in a civil war (1677.) The insurgents at first chose the Count Francis Wesselini as their leader, who was afterwards replaced by Count Emeric Tekeli. These noblemen were encouraged in their enterprise, and secretly abetted by France and the Porte.

The Emperor then found it necessary to comply; and, in a Diet which he assembled at Odenburg, he granted redress to most of the grievances of which the Hungarians had to complain; but Count Tekeli having disapproved of the resolutions of this Diet, the civil war was continued, and the Count soon found means to interest the Turks and the prince of Transylvania in his quarrel. The Grand Vizier Kara Mustapha, at the head of the Ottoman forces, came and laid siege to Vienna (July 14, 1683.) A Polish army marched to the relief of that place under their King, John Sobieski, who was joined by Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, General of the Imperial troops; they attacked the Turks in their entrenchments before Vienna, and compelled them to raise the siege (September 12, 1683.) Every thing then succeeded to the Emperor's wish. Besides Poland, the Russians and the Republic of Venice took part in this war in favour of Austria. A succession of splendid victories, gained by the Imperial generals, Charles Duke of Lorraine, Prince Louis of Baden, and Prince Eugene, procured for Leopold the conquest of all that part of Hungary, which had continued since the reign of Ferdinand I. in the power of the Ottomans. The fortress of Neuheusel was taken, in consequence of the battle which the Duke of Lorraine gained over the Turks at Strigova (1685.) The same General took by assault the city of Buda, the capital of Hungary, which had been in possession of the Turks since 1541. The memorable victory of Mohacz, gained by the Imperialists (1687,) again reduced Transylvania and Sclavonia under the dominion of Austria. These continued reverses cost the Grand Vizier his life; he was strangled by order of the Sultan, Mahomet IV., who was himself deposed by his rebellious Janissaries.

Encouraged by these brilliant victories, the Emperor Leopold assembled the States of Hungary at Presburg. He there de-

manded, that, in consideration of the extraordinary efforts he had been obliged to make against the Ottomans, the kingdom should be declared hereditary in his family. The States at first appeared inclined to maintain their own right of election; but yielding soon to the influence of authority, they agreed to make the succession hereditary in favour of the males of the two Austrian branches; on the extinction of which they were to be restored to their ancient rights. As for the privileges of the States, founded on the decree of King Andrew II., they were renewed at that Diet; with the exception of that clause in the thirty-first article of the decree, which authorized the States to oppose, by open force, any prince that should attempt to infringe the rights and liberties of the country. The Jesuits, who were formerly proscribed, were restored, and their authority established throughout all the provinces of the kingdom. The Protestants of both confessions obtained the confirmation of the churches and prerogatives that had been secured to them by the articles of the Diet of Odenburg; but it was stipulated, that only Catholics were entitled to possess property within the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Sclavonia. The Archduke Joseph, son of Leopold I., was crowned at this Diet (December 19, 1687,) as the first hereditary King of Hungary.

The arms of Austria were crowned with new victories during the continuation of the war against the Turks. Albe-Royale, Belgrade, Semendria, and Gradisca, fell into the hands of the Emperor. The two splendid victories at Nissa and Widdin, which Louis prince of Baden gained (1689,) secured to the Austrians the conquest of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria. The dejected courage of the Ottomans was for a time revived by their new Grand Vizier Mustapha Kiupruli, a man of considerable genius. After gaining several advantages over the Imperialists, he took from them Nissa, Widdin, Semendria, and Belgrade; and likewise reconquered Bulgaria, Servia, and Bosnia. The extraordinary efforts that the Porte made for the campaign of the following year, inspired them with hopes of better success; but their expectations were quite disappointed by the unfortunate issue of the famous battle of Salankemen, which the Prince of Baden gained over the Turks, (Aug. 19, 1691.) The brave Kiupruli was slain, and his death decided the victory in favour of the Imperialists. The war with France, however, which then occupied the principal forces of Austria, did not permit the Emperor to reap any advantage from this victory; he was even obliged, in the following campaigns, to act on the defensive in Hungary; and it was not until the conclusion of peace with France, that he was able to resume the war against the Turks

with fresh vigour. Prince Eugene, who was then commander-in-chief of the Imperial army, attacked the Sultan Mustapha II. in person, near Zenta on the river Teiss (Sept. 11, 1697.) where he gained a decisive victory. The grand Vizier, seventeen Pachas, and two thirds of the Ottoman army, were left dead on the field of battle; and the grand Seignior was compelled to fall back in disorder on Belgrade.

This terrible blow made the Porte exceedingly anxious for peace; and he had recourse to the mediation of England and Holland. A negotiation, which proved as tedious as it was intricate, was set on foot at Constantinople, and thence transferred to Carlowitz, a town of Slavonia lying between the two camps, one of which was at Peterwaradin, and the other at Belgrade. Peace was there concluded with the Emperor and his allies (Jan. 26, 1699.) The Emperor, by that treaty, retained Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia, with the exception of the Banat of Temeswar, which was reserved to the Porte. The rivers Marosch, Teiss, Save, and Unna, were fixed as the limits between the two Empires. The Count Tekeli, who during the whole of this war had constantly espoused the cause of the Porte, was allowed to remain in the Ottoman territory; with such of the Hungarians and Transylvanians as adhered to him.

The peace of Carlowitz had secured to the Emperor nearly the whole of Hungary; but, glorious though it was, it did not restore the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which very soon experienced fresh troubles. The same complaints that had arisen after the peace of Temeswar, were renewed after that of Carlowitz; to these were even added several others, occasioned by the introduction of the hereditary succession, at the Diet of 1687, by the suppression of the clause in the thirty-first article of the decree of Andrew II., by the restoration of the Jesuits and the banishment of Tekeli and his adherents. Nothing was wanted but a ringleader for the malecontents to rekindle the flames of civil war, and this leader was soon found in the person of the famous Prince Ragoczi, who appeared on the scene about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and when the greater part of Europe were involved in the war of the Spanish Succession.

Francis Ragoczi was the grandson of George Ragoczi II., who had been prince of Transylvania; and held a distinguished rank in the States of Hungary, not more by his illustrious birth than by the great possessions which belonged to his family. The Court of Vienna, which entertained suspicions of him on account of his near relationship with Tekeli, had kept

him in a sort of captivity from his earliest infancy; and he was not set at large, nor restored to the possession of his estates, until 1694, when he married a princess of Hesse-Rheinfels. From that time he resided quietly on his estates, holding his Court at Sarosch, in the district of the same name. Being suspected of having concerted a conspiracy with the malecontents, he was arrested by order of the Court of Vienna (1701,) and carried to Neustadt in Austria, whence he escaped and retired to Poland. Being condemned as guilty of high treason, and his estates declared forfeited, he took the resolution of placing himself at the head of the rebels, and instigating Hungary against the Emperor. France, who had just joined in the war with Austria, encouraged him in that enterprise, which she regarded as a favourable event for creating a diversion on the part of her enemy. Having arrived in Hungary, Ragoczi published a manifesto (1703,) in which he detailed the motives of his conduct, and exhorted the Hungarians to join him, for vindicating their ancient liberties which had been oppressed by the House of Austria. He soon attracted a crowd of partisans, and made himself master of a great part of the kingdom. The Transylvanians chose him for their prince (1704;) and the States of Hungary, who had united for the re-establishment of their laws and immunities, declared him their chief, with the title of Duke, and a senate of twenty-five persons. Louis XIV. sent his envoy, the Marquis Dessalleurs, to congratulate him on his elevation; and the Czar, Peter the Great, offered him the throne of Poland (1707,) in opposition to Stanislaus, who was protected by Charles XII.

The House of Austria being engaged in the Spanish war, was unable for a long time to reduce the Hungarian malecontents. The repeated attempts which she had made to come to an accommodation with them having failed, the war was continued till 1711, when the Austrians, who had been victorious, compelled Ragoczi to evacuate Hungary, and retire to the frontiers of Poland. A treaty of pacification was then drawn up. The Emperor promised to grant an amnesty, and a general restitution of goods in favour of all those who had been implicated in the insurrection. He came under an engagement to preserve inviolable the rights, liberties, and immunities of Hungary, and the principality of Transylvania; to reserve all civil and military offices to the Hungarians; to maintain the laws of the kingdom respecting religion; and as for their other grievances, whether political or ecclesiastical, he consented to have them discussed in the approaching Diet. These articles were approved and signed by the greater part of the malecontents, who

then took a new oath of allegiance to the Emperor. Ragoczi and his principal adherents were the only persons that remained proscribed and attainted, having refused to accede to these articles.

The Turkish Empire, once so formidable, had gradually fallen from the summit of its grandeur ; its resources were exhausted, and its history marked by nothing but misfortunes. The effeminacy and incapacity of the Sultans, their contempt for the arts cultivated by the Europeans, and the evils of a government purely military and despotic, by degrees undermined its strength, and eclipsed its glory as a conquering and presiding power. We find the Janissaries, a lawless and undisciplined militia, usurping over the sovereign and the throne the same rights which the Prætorian guards had arrogated over the ancient Roman Emperors.

The last conquest of any importance which the Turks made was that of Candia, which they took from the Republic of Venice. The war which obtained them the possession of that island, lasted for twenty years. It began under the Sultan Ibrahim (1645,) and was continued under his successor, Mahomet IV. The Venetians defended the island with exemplary courage and intrepidity. They destroyed several of the Turkish fleets ; and, on different occasions, they kept the passage of the Dardanelles shut against the Ottomans. At length the famous Vizier Achmet Kiupruli undertook the siege of the city of Candia (1667,) at the head of a formidable army. This siege was one of the most sanguinary recorded in history. The Turks lost above a hundred thousand men ; and it was not till after a siege of two years and four months that the place surrendered to them by a capitulation (Sept. 5, 1669,) which at the same time regulated the conditions of peace between the Turks and the Venetians. These latter, on surrendering Candia, reserved, in the islands and islets adjoining, three places, viz. Suda, Spinalonga, and Garabusa. They also retained Clissa, and some other places in Dalmatia and Albania, which they had seized during the war. The reign of Mahomet from that time, presented nothing but a succession of wars, of which that against Hungary was the most fatal to the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were overwhelmed by the powerful league formed between Austria, Poland, Russia, and the Republic of Venice. They experienced, as we have already noticed, a series of fatal disasters during that war ; and imputing these misfortunes to the effeminacy of their Sultan, they resolved to depose him. Mustapha II., the third in succession from Mahomet IV., terminated this destructive war by the peace of Carlowitz, when

the Turks lost all their possessions in Hungary, except Temeswar and Belgrade. They gave up to Poland the fortress of Kaminnec, with Podolia, and the part of the Ukraine on this side the Nieper, which had been ceded to them by former treaties. The Venetians, by their treaty with the Porte, obtained possession of the Morea, which they had conquered during the war; including the islands of St. Maura and Leucadia, as also the fortresses of Dalmatia, Knin, Sing, Ciclut, Gabella, Castlenuevo, and Risano. Finally, the Porte renounced the tribute which Venice had formerly paid for the isle of Zante; and the Republic of Ragusa was guaranteed in its independence, with respect to the Venetians.

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD VIII.

From the Peace of Utrecht to the French Revolution. A. D.
1713—1789.

[DURING the wars of the preceding period, arts and letters had made extraordinary progress; especially in France, where they seemed to have reached the highest degree of perfection to which the limited genius of man can carry them. The age of Louis XIV. revived, and almost equalled those master-pieces which Greece had produced under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, and Italy under the patronage of the Medici. This was the classical era of French literature. The grandeur which reigned at the court of that monarch, and the glory which his vast exploits had reflected on the nation, inspired authors with a noble enthusiasm; the public taste was refined by imitating the models of antiquity; and this preserved the French writers from those extravagancies which some other nations have mistaken for the standard of genius. Their language, polished by the Académie according to fixed rules, the first and most fundamental of which condemns every thing that does not tend to unite elegance with perspicuity, became the general medium of communication among the different nations in the civilized world; and this literary conquest which France made over the minds of other nations, is more glorious, and has proved more advantageous to her, than that universal dominion to which Louis XIV. is said to have aspired.

In the period on which we are now entering, men of genius and talents, though they did not neglect the *Belles-Lettres*, devoted themselves chiefly to those sciences, and that kind of

learning, the study of which has been diffused over all classes of society. Several branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, assumed a form entirely new; the knowledge of the ancient classics, which, till then, had been studied chiefly for the formation of taste, became a branch of common education, and gave birth to a variety of profound and useful researches. Geometry, astronomy, mechanics, and navigation, were brought to great perfection, by the rivalry among the different scientific academies in Europe. Natural Philosophy discovered many of the laws and phenomena of nature. Chemistry rose from the rank of an obscure art, and put on the garb of an attractive science. Natural History, enriched by the discoveries of learned travellers, was divested of those fables and chimeras which ignorance had attributed to her. History, supported by the auxiliary sciences of Geography and Chronology, became a branch of general philosophy.

The equilibrium among the different States, disturbed by the ambition of Louis XIV., had been confirmed by the peace of Utrecht, which lasted during twenty-four years without any great alteration. Nevertheless, in the political transactions which took place at this time, England enjoyed a preponderance which had been growing gradually since she had ceased to be the theatre of civil discord. The glory which she had acquired by the success of her arms in the Spanish wars, and the important advantages which the treaty of Utrecht had procured her, both in Europe and America, augmented her political power, and gave her an influence in general affairs which she never had enjoyed before. That nation carried their commerce and their marine to an extent which could not fail to alarm the other commercial and maritime states, and make them perceive that, if the care of their own trade and independence made it necessary to maintain a system of equilibrium on the Continent, it was equally important for their prosperity that bounds should be set to the monopolizing power of England. This gave rise at first to a new kind of rivalry between France and England—a rivalry whose effects were more particularly manifested after the middle of the eighteenth century, and which occasioned an intimate alliance among the branches of the House of Bourbon. At a later date, and in consequence of the principles which the English professed as to the commerce of neutral states, the powers of the North leagued themselves against that universal dominion which they were accused of wishing to usurp over the sea. In the Ninth Period, we shall even see the whole Continent for a short time turned against that nation—the only one that has been able to preserve her commerce and her independence.

This preponderance of England is the first change which the political system of Europe experienced in the eighteenth century. The second took place in the North. Till that time, the northern countries of Europe had never, except transiently, had any political connexions with the South. Russia, separated by the possessions of Sweden on the coasts of the Baltic, had belonged rather to Asia than to our quarter of the world. Poland, fallen from her ancient greatness, had sunk into a state of anarchy and exhaustion. Denmark and Sweden were disputing the command of the Baltic, and had no other influence on the politics of the South than that which Sweden had acquired by the personal qualities of some of her kings. The great war of the North, which broke out at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and the conquests of Peter the Great, which extended the limits of his Empire as far as the Gulf of Finland, and reduced Sweden to a state of debility from which she has not yet recovered, enabled Russia not only to take a distinguished lead in the North, but to become an important member in the system of Europe.

Meantime, the foundation of the Prussian monarchy gave rise to a new and intermediate power between the North and the South; but that state remained within the bounds of mediocrity until the middle of the eighteenth century. At that time the genius of Frederic II. alone raised it to a pitch of greatness which enabled it to struggle against the superior force of its neighbours, but without menacing the independence of other states. This growing power of Prussia, however, occasioned a rivalry between it and Austria, which for seventy years had an influence on the politics of Europe. It produced the extraordinary spectacle of an intimate alliance between two ancient rivals, the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; and, by dividing Germany between two opposite systems, it paved the way for the dissolution of that Empire. Such was the third change which the polity of Europe experienced in course of the eighteenth century.

The fourth change was less felt than the three others; its fatal consequences did not develop themselves until the Ninth Period. For the first time within the last three centuries, the sovereigns of Europe ventured to break treaties and to violate engagements, to declare war and undertake conquests, without alleging any other motives than reasons of convenience, and the ambition of aggrandizement. Thus the basis of the equilibrium system, the inviolability of possessions honourably acquired, was sapped, and the downfall of the whole system prepared. The events of the wars for the succession of Austria, furnished the first examples of this contempt for treaties; they were renewed

in an alarming manner on the partition of Poland, and by the attempts which the Emperor Joseph made to seize Bavaria. The act of iniquity committed against Poland was often cited, during the period of the French Revolution, to justify all sorts of violence and usurpation; and it was followed by a long train of calamities.

Commerce continued, in the eighteenth century, to be one of the principal objects that occupied the Cabinets of Europe. The mercantile system was brought to great perfection, and became, with most nations, the basis of their administration. The maritime powers turned all their attention, and bestowed the greatest care, on their colonies, the number and wealth of which were augmented by new establishments and better regulations. In imitation of Louis XIV., most of the states kept up numerous standing armies; a practice which they even carried to excess. The influence of England in Continental affairs was increased; as she had no occasion to augment her own army in proportion to that of other kingdoms, she was able to furnish them with those supplies which were necessary to carry on their wars. Besides, since the time of Frederic II., or about the year 1740, tactics, and the military art in general, had reached a degree of perfection which seemed scarcely to admit of further improvement. Finally, the financial system of several states experienced a revolution, by the invention of public funds for the payment of national debts; especially that instituted by Mr. Pitt, called the Sinking Fund.]

The extraordinary efforts which the powers of Europe had made during the last century, for maintaining the equilibrium of the Continent against the ambitious designs of France and Sweden, brought on a long period of tranquillity, which gave these nations an opportunity of encouraging arts, industry and commerce, and thereby repairing the evils which the long and disastrous wars had occasioned. Cabinets were attentive to maintain the stipulations of the treaties of Utrecht and Stockholm; and, by means of negotiations, to guard against everything that might rekindle a new general war. The good understanding that subsisted between France and Great Britain during the reign of George I. and the beginning of that of George II.—or, in other words, under the administration of Walpole, was the effect of those temporary interests that engrossed the attention of the two Courts—the one being under terror of the Pretender, and the other alarmed at the ambitious projects of Spain.

The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV., was anxious to maintain that peace and political order which the late treaties had introduced; having it in view

to remedy those disorders in the finance, which Louis XIV. had left in so deplorable a state.¹ The King of Spain, on the other hand, who was desirous of reviving his rights to the crown of France, went into the rash schemes of Cardinal Alberoni,² his prime minister, purporting to renew the war; to reconquer those territories which the peace of Utrecht had dismembered from the Spanish monarchy; to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency, and vest it in the King of Spain; and to place the Pretender, son of James II., on the throne of Great Britain.

The treaty of Utrecht, although it had tranquillized a great part of Europe, was nevertheless defective, in as far as it had not reconciled the Emperor and the King of Spain, the two principal claimants to the Spanish succession. The Emperor Charles VI. did not recognise Philip V. in his quality of King of Spain; and Philip, in his turn, refused to acquiesce in those partitions of the Spanish monarchy, which the treaty of Utrecht had stipulated in favour of the Emperor. To defeat the projects and secret intrigues of the Spanish minister, the Duke of Orleans thought of courting an alliance with England, as being the power most particularly interested in maintaining the treaty of Utrecht, the fundamental articles of which had been dictated by herself. That alliance, into which the United Provinces also entered, was concluded at the Hague (Jan. 4, 1717.) The articles of the treaty of Utrecht, those especially which related to the succession of the two crowns, were there renewed; and the Regent, in complaisance to the King of England, agreed to banish the Pretender from France, and to admit British commissaries into Dunkirk to superintend that port.

Cardinal Alberoni, without being in the least disconcerted by the Triple Alliance, persisted in his design of recommencing the war. No sooner had he recruited the Spanish forces, and equipped an expedition, than he attacked Sardinia, which he took from the Emperor. This conquest was followed by that of Sicily, which the Spaniards took from the Duke of Savoy (1718.)

France and England, indignant at the infraction of a treaty which they regarded as their own work, immediately concluded with the Emperor, at London (Aug. 2, 1718,) the famous Quadruple Alliance, which contained the plan of a treaty of peace, to be made between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. The allied powers engaged to obtain the consent of the parties interested in this proposal, and in case of refusal, to compel them by force of arms. The Emperor was to renounce his right to the Spanish crown, and to acknowledge Philip V. as the legitimate King of Spain, in consideration of his renoun-

cing the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, which the treaty of Utrecht and the quadruple alliance adjudged to the Emperor. The Duke of Savoy was to cede Sicily to Austria, receiving Sardinia in exchange, which the King of Spain was to give up. The right of reversion to the crown of Spain was transferred from Sicily to Sardinia. That treaty likewise granted to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V., by his second marriage, the eventual reversion and investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as well as the grand duchy of Tuscany, on condition of holding them as fiefs-male of the Emperor and the Empire, after the decease of the last male issue of the families of Farnese and Medici, who were then in possession; and the better to secure this double succession to the Infante, they agreed to introduce a body of six thousand Swiss into the two duchies, to be quartered in Leghorn, Porto-Ferrajo, Parma, and Placentia. The contracting powers undertook to guarantee the payment of these troops.

The Duke of Savoy did not hesitate to subscribe to the conditions of the quadruple alliance; but it was otherwise with the King of Spain, who persisted in his refusal; when France and England declared war against him. The French invaded the provinces of Guipuscoa and Catalonia, while the English seized Galicia and the port of Vigo. These vigorous proceedings shook the resolutions of the King of Spain. He signed the quadruple alliance, and banished the Cardinal Alberoni from his court, the adviser of those measures of which the allies complained. The Spanish troops then evacuated Sicily and Sardinia, when the Emperor took possession of the former, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, of the latter.

The war to all appearance was at an end; peace, however, was far from being concluded, and there still remained many difficulties to settle between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. To accomplish this, and conclude a definitive treaty between these three powers, a Congress was summoned at Cambray, which was to open in 1721, under the mediation of France and England; but some disputes which arose regarding certain preliminary articles, retarded their meeting for several years. Their first and principal object was to effect an exchange of the acts of mutual renunciation between the Emperor and the King of Spain, as stipulated by the treaty of the quadruple alliance. The Emperor, who was reluctant to abandon his claims to the Spanish monarchy, started difficulties as to the form of these renunciations. He demanded that Philip's renunciation of the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, should be confirmed by the Spanish Cortes. Philip demanded,

in his turn, that the renunciation of the Emperor with regard to Spain, should be ratified by the States of the Empire. To get clear of this difficulty, France and England agreed, by a special compact, signed at Paris (Sept. 27, 1721,) that the renunciations of both princes, however defective they might be, should be held valid under the guaranty of the two mediating powers.

Scarcely was this difficulty settled, when another presented itself, much more embarrassing. This related to the Company of Ostend, which the Emperor had instituted, and to which, by charter signed at Vienna (Dec. 19, 1722,) he had granted, for thirty years, the exclusive privilege of trading to the East and West Indies, and the coast of Africa. That establishment set the maritime powers at variance with the Emperor; especially the Dutch, who regarded it as prejudicial to their Indian commerce. They maintained, that according to the treaty of Munster, confirmed by the twenty-sixth article of the Barrier Treaty (1715,) the trade of the Spaniards with the East Indies was to remain as it was at that time.

Nothing in these preliminary discussions met with so much opposition as the grant of the eventual reversion and investiture of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Emperor had engaged, by the Quadruple Alliance, to give to Don Carlos, the Infante of Spain. The Duke of Parma, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany joined in opposition to it. Anthony, the last Duke of Parma and Placentia, of the House of Farnese, demanded that the Emperor should never, during his life, exercise over the duchy of Parma, the territorial rights established by the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. The Pope also protested loudly against that clause of the treaty which deprived him of the rights of superiority over Parma and Placentia, which his predecessors had enjoyed for several centuries. As for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, John Gaston, the last of the Medici, he maintained, that as his duchy neld of God only, he could never permit that it should be declared a fief of the Empire: nor recognise the Infante of Spain as heir of his estates, to the prejudice of his sister's rights, the widow of the Elector Palatine.

Charles VI. without stopping at these objections, laid the business of these investitures before the Diet of Ratisbon; and, after having obtained their consent, he caused copies to be made of the letters of reversion and investiture in favour of Don Carlos and his heirs-male. These having been presented to the Congress the King of Spain refused to receive them; alleging the protests of the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; nor would he agree to them, except on condition of an act of guaranty on the part of the mediating powers. All these difficulties being

settled, and the preliminaries closed, they at length proceeded with the conferences at Cambray (April 1724,) for the conclusion of a definitive peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy. Every thing seemed arrived at an amicable termination, when some differences arose between the commissioners of the Emperor and those of the mediating powers, which occasioned new interruptions.

Meantime, the Duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded the Duke of Orleans in the ministry, sent back to Spain the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip V., who had been educated at the court of France, as the intended spouse of Louis XV. This event broke up the Congress. Philip V., greatly offended, recalled his ministers from Cambray. Baron Ripperda,⁴ whom he had sent as envoy to the Imperial Court put an end to the differences between these two powers, in despite of the mediation of France. In consequence, a special treaty was concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the King of Spain (April 30, 1725.) This treaty renewed the renunciation of Philip V. to the provinces of Italy and the Netherlands, as well as that of the Emperor to Spain and the Indies. The eventual investiture of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, and that of the grand dutchy of Tuscany, were also confirmed. The only new clause contained in the treaty, was that by which the King of Spain undertook to guarantee the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., which secured to the daughter of that prince the succession of all his estates. It was chiefly on this account that Philip V. became reconciled to the Court of Vienna.

The peace of Vienna was accompanied by a defensive alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain. Among other clauses, one was that the Emperor should interpose to obtain for the King of Spain the restitution of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; while Philip, on his side, granted to the shipping of the Emperor and his subjects free entrance into his ports, and all immunities and prerogatives which were enjoyed by the nations in the strictest commercial connexions with Spain. These clauses alarmed England and Holland; and the intimacy which had been established between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid attracted more particularly the attention of the Duke of Bourbon, who dreaded the resentment of the King of Spain, as he had advised the return of the Infanta. To prevent any such consequences, he set on foot a league with England and Prussia, capable of counteracting that of Vienna, which was concluded at Herrenhausen, near Hanover (Sept. 3, 1725,) and is known by the name of the *Alliance of Hanover*.

All Europe was divided between these two alliances. Hol-

land, Sweden, and Denmark acceded to the alliance of Hanover. Catherine I. of Russia, and the principal Catholic States of the Empire joined that of Vienna. The Emperor even succeeded in detaching the King of Prussia from the alliance of Hanover to join his own. Europe seemed then on the eve of a general war; the ambassadors to the different courts were recalled. The English sent a numerous and powerful fleet to America, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; while the Spaniards commenced hostilities, by laying siege to Gibraltar. The death of the Empress of Russia (May 17, 1727,) however, caused a change in the disposition of the Northern powers. The Emperor, seeing he could no longer reckon on the assistance of Russia, showed no anxiety to second the efforts of the Spaniards; but what chiefly contributed to the maintenance of peace was, that neither France nor England was desirous of war.

In this situation of affairs, the Pope interposed his mediation; and a new preliminary treaty was signed at Paris, which ordained that there should be an armistice for seven years; that the Company of Ostend should be suspended for the same time; and that a new General Congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This congress was first transferred to Cambray, and thence to Soissons, where it was opened in 1728. Ambassadors from almost all the Courts of Europe appeared there; and they expected, with some reason, a happy conclusion of the business; as most of the difficulties which had embarrassed the Congress of Cambray were settled by the peace of Vienna, and as the only subject for deliberation was to settle the succession of Parma and Tuscany. But the Emperor having demanded that the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction should be adopted as the basis of the arrangements for establishing the peace of Soissons, that incident became the subject of new disputes. Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister of France, having strongly opposed this claim of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor, in his turn, threw obstacles in the way of the negotiation at Soissons. This inclined the Cardinal to make overtures to the Court of Madrid, with whom he concerted a secret negotiation, in which he also found means to associate England.

This gave rise to a treaty of peace, union, and offensive alliance, which was signed at Seville between France, Spain, and England (November 9, 1729.) These powers engaged to guarantee the succession of Parma and Tuscany in favour of the Infante Don Carlos; and to effect this, they resolved to substitute six thousand Spanish troops in the Swiss garrisons, named by the Quadruple Alliance. The Dutch acceded to that treaty, in

consideration of the engagement which the contracting powers came under to give them entire satisfaction with respect to the Company of Ostend.

The Emperor, finding the treaty of Seville concluded without his co-operation, was apprehensive of having failed in his principal aim, viz. the adoption of the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction. He was indignant that the allies at Seville should pretend to lay down the law to him touching the abolition of the Ostend Company, and the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy. Accordingly, being determined not to comply, he immediately broke off all relationship with the Court of Spain; he recalled his ambassador, and took measures to prevent the Spanish troops from taking possession of Italy. The last Duke of Parma, Anthony Farnese, being dead (1731,) he took possession of his duchy by force of arms.

At length, to terminate all these differences, the King of England, in concert with the States-General, opened a negotiation with the Emperor; the result of which was a treaty of alliance, signed at Vienna, between him, England and Holland (March 16, 1731.) In virtue of that treaty, the three contracting powers mutually guaranteed their estates, rights and possessions; England and Holland, more especially, engaged to guarantee the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction; and the Emperor, on his side, consented to the introduction of Spanish troops into Italy, and to the suppression of the Company of Ostend; he even agreed that the Netherlands should never carry on trade with the Indies, either by the Ostend Company, or any other.

In consequence of this treaty, which was approved by the States-General, Don Carlos took possession of Parma and Placentia; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany also recognised him as his successor. Thus terminated these long disputes about the Spanish Succession, after having agitated the greater part of Europe for upwards of thirty years.

In the midst of these contentions, a war had arisen between the Porte and the Republic of Venice; in which the Emperor Charles VI. was also implicated. The Turks were desirous of recovering the Morea, which they had been obliged to abandon to the Venetians at the peace of Carlowitz; but instead of attacking that Republic, while the Emperor was engaged with the French war, and unable to render it assistance, they waited till the conclusion of the treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden, before they declared hostilities. The pretexts which the Turks made to justify this rupture were extremely frivolous; but they knew well that the Venetians, who had lived in the most complete security since the peace of Carlowitz, had neglected to re-

pair the fortifications which had been destroyed in the war, and that it would be easy for them to reconquer them.

In fact, during the campaign of 1715, the Grand Vizier not only recovered the Morea, he even dispossessed the Venetians of the places which they still retained in the Isle of Candia, and, at the commencement of the following campaign, they laid siege to the town of Corfu. Charles VI. thought he was bound, as the guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz, to espouse the cause of the Venetians; he declared war against the Porte, and his example was followed by the Pope and the King of Spain, who united their fleets to those of the Republic. The Turks were defeated in several engagements, and obliged to raise the siege of Corfu, after sacrificing a great many lives.

The campaigns of 1716 and 1717 in Hungary, were triumphant for the armies of the Emperor; Prince Eugene gained a brilliant victory over the Grand Vizier, near Peterwaradin (August 5th,) which enabled him to invest Temeswar, which he carried after a siege of six months, and thus completed the conquest of Hungary. To crown his glory, that great captain next undertook the siege of Belgrade, regarded by the Turks as the principal bulwark of their Empire. The Grand Vizier marched to the relief of the place, at the head of a formidable army. He encamped before Belgrade, and enclosed the Imperial army within a semicircle, reaching from the Danube to the Save. Prince Eugene had then no other alternative than to leave his camp, and attack the Turks in their intrenchments. He took his measures with such address, that, in spite of the great superiority of the Turks, he forced them back to their camp, and put them completely to rout (Aug. 16, 1717.)

This victory was followed by the reduction of Belgrade, and several other places on the Save and the Danube. The Porte began to wish for peace; and as the Emperor, who had just been attacked in Italy by the Spaniards, was equally desirous to put an end to the war, both parties agreed to accept the mediation of England and Holland. A congress was opened at Passarowitz, a small town in Servia, near the mouth of the Morau. A peace was there concluded between the three belligerent powers (July 21, 1718,) on the basis of the *Uti possidetis*. The Emperor retained Temeswar, Orsova, Belgrade, and the part of Wallachia lying on this side of the river Aluta; as also Servia, according to the limits determined by the treaty, and both banks of the Save, from the Drino to the Unna. The Venetians lost the Morea, but they retained several places in Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Albania, which they had conquered during the war. The Porte restored to them the Island of Cerigo in the Archipelago.

The success of Charles VI. in this war procured some new advantages to his house, on the part of the States of Hungary. The Diet of 1687, in vesting the hereditary right of that kingdom in the Emperor Leopold I., had restricted that right, solely to the male descendants of the House of Austria; and Charles VI., on his accession to the throne, had acknowledged the elective right of the States, in case he should happen to die without leaving any male offspring. This prince, finding afterwards that he had no other children left than the two daughters by his marriage with Elizabeth princess of Brunswick, and being desirous of securing to them the succession of Hungary as well as his other estates, assembled a Diet at Presburg (1722,) and there engaged the States of the kingdom to extend the right of succession to females, according to the order which he had established in the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction, and published some years before.

A revolution happened in the government of Sweden immediately after the death of Charles XII., and before the great war of the North was quite ended. Reduced to a state of great distress by the folly, ambition, and inflexible obstinacy of that prince, Sweden saw her finest provinces occupied by the enemy, her commerce annihilated, her armies and her fleets destroyed. They attributed these disasters chiefly to the absolute power of Charles XII., and the abuse he had made of it. The only remedy for so many evils, they conceived, was to abolish a power which had become so pernicious to the State. As Charles had never been married, the throne, according to the hereditary law established in Sweden, passed to the son of the dutchess of Holstein-Gottorp, eldest sister of Charles; but the Senate of Sweden preferred to him the princess Ulrica Eleonora, younger sister of the late king; because of the declaration she had made, renouncing all absolute power, and consenting to hold the crown only by the free election of the States of the kingdom. The States, in an assembly held at Stockholm, in the beginning of 1719, declared the throne vacant, and then proceeded to the election of the princess. With their act of election, they presented her with a new form of government, and an act known by the name of the *Royal Assurance*, which imposed new limitations on the royal authority. The princess signed these acts (February 21,) and the States declared that whoever should attempt to restore absolute power, should be considered as a traitor to his country.

The government was intrusted to the queen conjunctly with the Senate; while the legislative power was reserved to the States, to meet regularly every three years. The queen had the right of proposing bills or ordinances; but before these

could have the force of law, they were to be submitted to the examination of the States, without whose consent war was never to be proclaimed. As for the deliberations of the Senate, it was resolved, that they should be decided by a plurality of suffrages, that the queen should have two votes, and a casting vote besides. Thus, the chief power was vested in the hands of the Senate, the members of which resumed their ancient title of Senators of the kingdom, instead of that of Counsellors to the King, which had been bestowed on them at the revolution of 1680. Ulrica Eleonora afterwards resigned the crown to her husband prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel. The States, in their election of that prince (May 22, 1720,) ordained that the Queen, in case she should survive her husband, should be reinstated in her rights, and resume the crown, without the necessity of a new deliberation of the States. Frederic, by the Royal Assurance, and the form of government which he signed, agreed to certain new modifications of the royal power, especially concerning appointments to places of trust. By these different stipulations, and the changes which took place in consequence, the power of the Swedish kings was gradually reduced to very narrow limits. It was so much the more easy to make encroachments on the royal power, as the King, by a radical defect in the new form of government, had no constitutional means of preserving the little authority that was left him.

The death of Augustus II. of Poland, occasioned new disturbances, which passed from the North to the South of Europe and brought about great changes in Italy. Louis XV. took the opportunity of that event to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, who was his father-in-law, and the former protégé of Charles XII. The Primate, and the greater part of the Polish nobility being in the interest of that prince, he was consequently elected (Sept. 12, 1733.)

Anne Iwanowna, dutchess-dowager of Courland, and niece of Peter the Great, had just ascended the throne of Russia; having succeeded Peter II. (June 20, 1730,) who was cut off in the flower of his age without leaving any progeny. The grandees, in conferring the crown on Anne, had limited her power by a capitulation which they made her sign at Mittau, but which she cancelled immediately on her arrival at Moscow. That princess, dreading the influence of France in Poland, in case of a war between Russia and the Porte, espoused the interests of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and son of the late King, whom she wished to place on the Polish throne. Part of the Polish nobility, withdrawing from the field of election, and supported by a Russian army, proclaimed that prince, in opposition to Stanislaus, the protégé of France.

The Russians, reinforced by the Saxon troops, seized Warsaw and compelled Stanislaus to retire to Dantzic, where he was besieged by a Russian army, under command of Field-Marshal Munich, and obliged to seek safety in flight. Louis XV. wishing to avenge this injury offered to his father-in-law, and not being in a condition to attack Russia, resolved to declare war against the Emperor; on the ground that he had marched an army to the frontiers of Poland, for supporting the election of the Saxon prince.

Spain and Sardinia espoused the cause of Stanislaus, which seemed to them to be the cause of Kings in general; while the Emperor saw himself abandoned by England and Holland, whose assistance he thought he might claim, in virtue of the guarantee which the treaty of Vienna had stipulated in his favour. But these powers judged it more for their interests to preserve strict neutrality in this war, on the assurance which France had given the States-General, not to make the Austrian Netherlands the theatre of hostilities. The French commenced operations by directing the Count de Belleisle to seize Lorraine, the sovereign of which, Francis Stephen, son of Duke Leopold, was to have married Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. About the same time, Marshal Berwick passed the Rhine at the head of the French army, and reduced the fortress of Kehl. By thus attacking a fortress of the Empire, France gave the Emperor a pretext for engaging the Germanic Body in his quarrel. In fact, he declared war against France and her allies; which induced the French to seize several places on the Moselle, and to reduce the fortress of Philipsburg, at the siege of which, Marshal Berwick was slain (June 12, 1734.)

The principal scene of the war then lay in Italy; where the campaigns of 1734 and 1735 were most glorious for the allies. After the two victories which they had gained over the Imperialists near Parma (June 29,) and Guastalla (Sept. 17,) they made themselves master of all Austrian Lombardy, with the single exception of Mantua, which they laid under blockade. A Spanish army, commanded by the Duke of Montemar, accompanied by the Infante Don Carlos, directed their march on Naples, which threw open its gates to the Spaniards. The victory which they gained over the Imperialists at Bitonto (May 25,) decided the fate of the kingdom of Naples. After this conquest, the Infante passed to Sicily. He soon reduced that island, and was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo (July 3, 1735.)

The Emperor, overwhelmed by so many reverses, and unable

to withstand the powers leagued against him, eagerly solicited assistance from Russia. The Empress Anne, who saw the war terminated in Poland, and Augustus in quiet possession of the throne, despatched a body of ten thousand auxiliaries, under the command of General Count de Lacy, into Germany, in the spring of the year 1735. These troops, the first Russians who had appeared in that country, joined the Imperial army on the Rhine, which was commanded by Prince Eugene. That General, however, did not succeed in his design of transferring the seat of war to Lorraine.

Matters were in this situation, when the maritime powers interposed their good offices for restoring peace between the Emperor and the States leagued against him. Cardinal Fleury, perceiving that their mediation was not agreeable to the Imperial Court, took the resolution of concerting a secret negotiation with the Emperor, the result of which was a treaty of preliminaries; although much deliberation was necessary before coming to the conclusion of a definitive peace. This was at length signed at Vienna, between France, the Emperor, and the Empire, on the 8th of November 1738. The former treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, and the Quadruple Alliance, were admitted as the basis of this treaty. Stanislaus renounced the throne of Poland, and retained the title only during his life. They gave him, by way of compensation, the dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, on condition that, at his death, they should revert with full right to France. The single county of Falkenstein, with its appurtenances and dependencies, was reserved for Francis, Duke of Lorraine. In exchange for the dutchy which he abdicated, that prince received the grand dutchy of Tuscany, whose last possessor, John Gaston, of the House of Medici, had just died without leaving any posterity (1737.) The kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the ports of Tuscany, were secured to Don Carlos and his descendants, male and female; and, in failure of them, to the younger brothers of that prince, and their descendants. On his part, Don Carlos ceded to the Emperor the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, and even renounced the rights which former treaties had given him over the grand dutchy of Tuscany. They restored to the Emperor all that had been taken from him in the provinces of Milan and Mantua; with the reservation of the districts of Novara and Tortona, which he was obliged to cede to Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, together with San-Fidele, Torre di Forti, Gravedo, and Campo-Maggiore; as also the territorial superiority of the fiefs commonly called Langhes, to be held entirely as Imperial fiefs. Finally, France under-

took, in the most authentic form, to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor.

The Kings of Spain and Sardinia were not satisfied with the conditions of this treaty. The former wished to preserve the grand duchy of Tuscany, with the duchies of Parma and Placentia; and the other had expected to obtain a larger portion of Lombardy. Thus, these princes long hesitated to admit the articles agreed to between the courts of France and Vienna; nor did they give their consent until the year 1739.

While these disputes about the succession of Poland occupied a great part of Europe, a war broke out between the Turks and the Russians, in which Austria was also implicated. The Empress Anne of Russia, wishing to recover Azoff, and repair the loss which Peter the Great had sustained in his unfortunate campaign on the Pruth, took advantage of the war between the Turks and the Persians, to form an alliance with Khouli Khan, the famous conqueror of the East, who had just subverted the ancient dynasty of the Sophis of Persia. The incursions which the Tartars had made at different times into the Russian provinces, without the Porte thinking proper to check them, served as a motive for the Empress to order an expedition against the Turks (1735,) and to declare war against the Porte soon after. It was during the campaign of 1736 that Count Lacy made himself master of Azoff, and that Marshal Munich, after having forced the lines at Perekop, penetrated into the interior of the Crimea; but having in that expedition lost many of his men by famine and disease, he found it impossible to maintain himself in that peninsula.

The Emperor offered himself at first as a mediator between the belligerent powers. A conference was opened at Niemerow in Poland, which proved fruitless. The Russians who had just taken Oczakoff, emboldened by their success, were desirous to continue the war; while the Emperor, without reflecting on the bad condition of his military strength, and the loss which he had sustained by the death of the celebrated prince Eugene (April 21, 1736,) thought only of sharing the conquest with the Russians. He then laid aside the character of mediator, to act on the defensive against the Turks; but he had soon reason to repent of this measure. The Turks, encouraged by the famous Count de Bonneval, gained considerable advantages over the Austrians; and in course of the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, they dislodged them from Wallachia and Servia, retook Orsova, and laid siege to the city of Belgrade in 1739.

The Court of Vienna, in a state of great consternation, had recourse to the mediation of M. de Villeneuve, the French am-

bassador a. Constantinople, to sue for peace with the Porte; Count Neipperg, who was sent by the Emperor to the Turkish camp before Belgrade, signed there, with too much precipitation, a treaty, under very disadvantageous terms for Austria: and the Empress Anne, who had intrusted the French ambassador with her full powers, consented also to a peace very unfavourable for Russia, notwithstanding the brilliant victory which Marshal Munich had gained over the Turks in the neighbourhood of Choczim (Oct. 28, 1739,) which was followed by the capture of that place, and the conquest of Moldavia by the Russians.

The Emperor, by that peace, ceded to the Porte, Belgrade, Sabatz, and Orsova, with Austrian Servia and Wallachia. The Danube, the Save, and the Unna, were again settled as the boundary between the two Empires; and Austria preserved nothing but the Banat of Temeswar, of all that had been ceded to her by the peace of Passarowitz. The Austrian merchants, however, were granted free passage into and out of the kingdoms and provinces of the Ottoman Empire, both by sea and land, in their own vessels, with the flag and letters-patent of the Emperor, on condition of their paying the accustomed dues.

Russia surrendered all her conquests, and among others Choczim and Moldavia. The boundaries between the two Empires were regulated by different special agreements. The fortress of Azoff was demolished; and it was stipulated that Russia should not construct any new fortress within thirty versts of that place, on the one side; nor the Porte within thirty versts, on the side of the Cuban. Russia was even interdicted from having and constructing fleets or other naval stores, either on the Sea of Azoff or the Black Sea. The Zaporog Cossacs continued under the dominion of Russia, which obtained also from the Porte the acknowledgment of the Imperial title. The peace between Russia and the Porte was declared perpetual; but they limited that between Austria and the Porte to twenty-seven years. The latter was renewed under the Empress Maria Theresa; and rendered also perpetual, by an agreement which that princess concluded with the Porte, May 25, 1747.

The succession to Charles VI., the last male descendant of the House of Hapsburg, who died October 20th 1740, kindled a new general war in Europe. That prince, in the year 1713, had published an order of succession, known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, which decreed, that failing his lineal heirs-male, his own daughters should succeed in preference to those of his brother the Emperor Joseph I.; and that the succession of his daughters should be regulated according to the order of

primogeniture, so that the elder should be preferred to the younger, and that she alone should inherit his whole estates. He took great pains to get this order approved by the different hereditary States of Austria, as well as by the daughters of his brother Joseph I., and by the husbands of these princesses, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria. He even obtained, by degrees, the sanction of all the principal powers of Europe. But though his external policy had been very active in securing the rights of his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, he neglected those measures to which he ought rather to have directed his attention. The wretched state in which he left his finances and his army, encouraged a number of pretenders, who disputed the succession with that princess.

Of these claimants, the principal was the Elector of Bavaria, who, as being descended from Anne of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand I., advanced the claims of the females of the elder line, against those of the younger; grounded on the contract of marriage between that princess and Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, as well as on the will of Ferdinand I. The Elector of Saxony, then King of Poland, although he had approved of the Pragmatic Sanction, claimed the succession, as being husband of the elder of the daughters of Joseph I., and in virtue of a compact between the two brothers, Joseph I. and Charles VI., which provided, that the daughters of Joseph should, under all circumstances, be preferred to those of Charles.

Philip V., King of Spain, laid claim to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. He grounded his rights on an agreement (1617) between Philip III. of Spain and Ferdinand of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand II.; according to which these kingdoms were to pass to the descendants of Philip III., failing the male line of Ferdinand. A war had arisen between Spain and England on account of the clandestine traffic which the English carried on in Spanish America, under favour of the contract called the *Assiento*. Philip V. thought of turning these differences relative to the Austrian succession to his own advantage, either for drawing France into an alliance with him against England, or to procure for his son Don Philip a settlement in Italy, at the expense of the daughter of Charles VI.

Frederic II., King of Prussia, who had just succeeded his father Frederic William I., judged this a favourable time for turning his attention to the affairs of his own kingdom, and profiting by the troops and treasures which his father had left. With this view, he revived certain claims of his family to several dutchies and principalities in Silesia, of which his ancestors, he maintained, had been unjustly deprived by Austria.

Finally, the King of Sardinia laid claim to the whole dutchy of Milan; grounded on the contract of marriage between his ancestor, Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and the daughter of Philip II. of Spain. The Court of France, wishing to avail herself of these circumstances for humbling Austria, her ancient rival, set on foot a negotiation with the Elector of Bavaria, and engaged to procure him the Imperial crown, with a part of the territories, of which he had deprived Austria.

An alliance was concluded between France, Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria, which was joined also by the Kings of Prussia, Poland, Sardinia, and the two Sicilies; and to prevent Russia from affording assistance to Maria Theresa, they prevailed on Sweden to declare war against that power. The Court of Vienna having complained of these resolutions of the French Cabinet, which were directly opposed to the conditions of the last treaty of Vienna, Cardinal Fleury, who had been drawn into that war by the intrigues of M. De Belleisle, alleged in his own justification, that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, which France had undertaken by that treaty, presupposed the clause *Sine prejudicio tertii*; that is to say, that France never intended, by that guarantee, to prejudice the just claims of the Elector of Bavaria.

The most active of the enemies of Maria Theresa was the King of Prussia, who entered Silesia in the month of December 1740. While he was occupied in making that conquest, the Elector of Bavaria, reinforced by an army of French auxiliaries, took possession of Upper Austria; but, instead of marching directly upon Vienna, he turned towards Bohemia, with the intention of conquering it. Meantime, the Electoral Diet, which was assembled at Frankfort, conferred the Imperial dignity on that prince, (Jan. 24, 1742,) who took the name of Charles VII. Nothing appeared then to prevent the dismemberment of the Austrian monarchy, according to the plan of the allied powers. The Elector of Bavaria was to have Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the provinces of Upper Austria; the Elector of Saxony was to have Moravia and Upper Silesia; and the King of Prussia the remainder of Silesia. As for Austrian Lombardy, it was destined for Don Philip, the Infante of Spain. Nothing was left to the Queen, except the kingdom of Hungary, with Lower Austria, the Duchies of Carinthia, Stiria and Carniola, and the Belgic Provinces. In the midst of these imminent dangers, Maria Theresa displayed a courage beyond her age and sex. Aided by the supplies of money which England and Holland furnished her, and by the generous efforts which the Hungarian nation made in her favour, she succeeded in calming the storm

repulsing the enemy with vigour, and dissolving the grand league which had been formed against her.

The King of Prussia, in consequence of the two victories which he gained at Molwitz (April 10, 1741,) and Czaslau (May 17, 1742,) had succeeded in conquering Silesia, Moravia, and part of Bohemia. It was of importance for the Queen to get rid of so formidable an enemy. The King of Great Britain having interposed, certain preliminaries were signed at Breslau, which were followed by a definitive peace, concluded at Berlin (July 28, 1742.) The Queen, by this treaty, gave up to the King of Prussia Silesia and the Comté of Glatz, excepting the principality of Teschen, and part of the principalities of Trappau, Jagerndorf, and Neisse. The example of Prussia was soon followed by the King of Poland. This Prince, alarmed at the sudden increase of the Prussian power, not only acceded to the treaty of Berlin, but even formed an alliance with the Queen against Prussia.

The King of Sardinia, who dreaded the preponderance of the Bourbons in Italy, likewise abandoned the grand alliance, and attached himself to the Queen's interests, by a compact which was signed at Turin. The French and Spaniards then turned their arms against that Prince; and while the King of the two Sicilies joined his forces with the Spaniards, an English squadron appeared before Naples, threatened to bombard the city, and compelled the King to recall his troops from Lombardy, and remain neutral. This was not the only piece of service which George II. rendered the young Queen. Being one of the powers that guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, he sent to her aid an army composed of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians. This, known by the name of the Pragmatic Army, fought and defeated the French at Dettingen (June 27, 1743.) They were afterwards reinforced by a body of troops which the States-General sent, in fulfilment of the engagement which they had contracted with the Court of Vienna. Lastly, that prince, in order to attach the King of Sardinia more closely to the interests of Austria, set on foot a treaty at Worms, by which the Queen ceded to the King of Sardinia the territory of Pavia, between the Po and the Tesino, part of the dutchy of Placentia, and the district of Anghiera, with the rights which they claimed to the marquise of Finale. The King, on his part, abandoned all claims to the Milanois; and engaged to support an army of 40,000 men for the service of the Queen, in consideration of the supplies which England promised to pay him.

This soon changed the aspect of affairs. The Queen reconquered Austria and Bohemia. She expelled the French from

Bavaria, and drove them even beyond the Rhine. The Emperor Charles VII. was obliged to transfer his residence from Munich to Frankfort on the Maine. France, who had never acted till then but as the ally of the Elector of Bavaria, resolved, in consequence of these events, formally to declare war against the Queen and the King of Great Britain (March 15, 1744.) The King of the Two Sicilies broke his neutrality, and again joined his troops with the Spanish army, who were acting against the Queen and her ally the King of Sardinia. The war was now carried on with fresh vigour. Louis XV. attacked the Austrian Netherlands in person, and negotiated a treaty of Union, at Frankfort, between the Emperor, and several principal States of the Empire. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the allied princes should unite their forces, and constrain the Queen to acknowledge the Emperor Charles VII., and reinstate him in his hereditary dominions.

It was in consequence of this treaty, that the King of Prussia again commenced the war, and made an attack on Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had invaded Alsace, at the head of an Austrian army, was obliged to repass the Rhine, and march to the relief of that kingdom. The French penetrated into Germany, and while Louis XV. laid siege to Friburg in Brisgaw, General Seckendorf, who commanded the Imperial army, reconquered Bavaria. Charles VII., who was then restored to his estates, returned to Munich.

During these transactions, an unforeseen event happened, which changed the state of affairs. The Emperor died at the early age of forty-seven (Jan. 20, 1745,) and his son Maximilian Joseph II., used all expedition to make up matters with the Queen. By the special treaty, which he concluded with her at Fuessen (April 22, 1745,) he renounced the claims which his father had made to the succession of Charles VI. He again signed the Pragmatic Sanction, satisfied with being maintained in the possession of his patrimonial estates. The French had in vain endeavoured to prevent the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Imperial throne, who had been associated with his wife, Maria Theresa, in the government of her hereditary dominions. That prince, however, was elected at Frankfort, under the protection of the Austrian and Pragmatic armies.

An alliance had been concluded at Warsaw between Maria Theresa, Poland, England, and Holland (Jan. 8, 1745.) Augustus III. had engaged, as Elector of Saxony, to despatch an army of thirty thousand men to the Queen's assistance, in consideration of the subsidies which England and Holland had promised to pay him. That army being joined by the Austrians,

had advanced into Silesia, where they sustained a total defeat near Hohenfriedberg (June 4.) The victorious King of Prussia returned to Bohemia, and there defeated the allies a second time, near Sorr, in the Circle of Konigratz (Sept. 30.) He then attacked Saxony, in order to compel the Queen to make peace, by harassing the Elector her ally. The victory, which he gained over the Saxons at Kesselsdorf (Dec. 15,) made him master of Dresden, and the whole Electorate, which he laid under contribution. These victories accelerated the peace between the King of Prussia, the Queen, and the Elector of Saxony, which was signed at Dresden, under the mediation of Great Britain. The King of Prussia restored to the Elector all his estates, the latter promising to pay him a million of Imperial crowns. The Queen gave up Silesia and the Comté of Glatz; while the King, as the Elector of Brandenburg, acquiesced in the election of Francis I. to the Imperial throne. The King of England, the Dutch, and the States of the Empire, undertook to guarantee these stipulations.

The treaties of Fuessen and Dresden restored tranquillity to the Empire; but the war was continued in the Netherlands, Italy, and in the East and West Indies. The French, under the conduct of Marshal Saxe, distinguished themselves in the Netherlands. The victories which they gained over the allies at Fontenoy (May 11, 1745,) and at Rocoux (Oct. 11, 1746,) procured them the conquest of all the Austrian Netherlands, except the towns and fortresses of Luxemburg, Limburg, and Gueldres.

Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, encouraged and assisted by the Court of France, landed in Scotland in August 1745. Being joined by a number of partisans, whom he found in that kingdom, he caused his father to be proclaimed at Perth and Edinburgh, assuming to himself the title of Prince of Wales, and Regent of the three kingdoms. The victory which he gained near Prestonpans over the English troops, rendered him master of all Scotland. He next invaded England, took Carlisle, and advanced as far as Derby, spreading terror and consternation in London. George II. was obliged to recall the Duke of Cumberland, with his troops, from the Netherlands. That Prince drove back the Pretender, retook Carlisle, and restored tranquillity in Scotland, by defeating the Rebels near Culloden in the Highlands. Charles Edward was then reduced to the necessity of concealing himself among the mountains, until the month of October following, when he found means to transport himself to France.

The campaign of 1745 in Italy was glorious for the French, and their allies the Spaniards. The Republic of Genoa, being

offended at the clause in the treaty of Worms, which took from them the marquisate of Finale, espoused the cause of the two crowns, and facilitated the junction of the French army of the Alps with that of Lombardy. One effect of this junction was the conquest of Piedmont, as also of Austrian Lombardy, excepting the cities of Turin and Mantua, which the allies had laid under blockade.

The fate of the war, however, experienced a new change in Italy, at the opening of the following campaign. Maria Theresa, disengaged from the war with Prussia, sent considerable reinforcements into Lombardy, which gave her arms a superiority over those of the allies. The French and Spaniards were stripped of all their conquests, and sustained a grand defeat at Placentia (June 16, 1746,) which obliged them to beat a retreat. To add to their misfortunes, the new King of Spain, Ferdinand VI., who had just succeeded his father, Philip V., being displeased with the Court of France, and unfavourably inclined towards his brother Don Philip, recalled all his troops from Italy. The French had then no other alternative left than to follow the Spaniards in their retreat. Italy was abandoned to the Austrians, and the French troops again returned to Provence. The whole Republic of Genoa, with its capital, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The King of Sardinia took possession of Finale, Savona, and the western part of the Republican territory. The Austrians, joined by the Piedmontese, made a descent on Provence, and undertook the siege of Antibes.

An extraordinary event produced a diversion favourable for France, and obliged the Austrians and Piedmontese to repossess the Alps. The Genoese being maltreated by the Austrians, who had burdened them with contributions and discretionary exactions, suddenly rose against their new masters. The insurgents, with Prince Doria at their head, succeeded in expelling them from Genoa (Dec. 1746.) General Botta, who commanded at Genoa, was obliged to abandon his stores and equipage, that he might the more quickly escape from the territory of the Republic. The siege of Antibes was raised; the allies repossessed the Alps, and blockaded Genoa. But the French having sent powerful supplies by sea to that city, and at the same time made a vigorous attack on the side of Piedmont, relieved the Genoese, and obliged the enemy to retreat.

In 1747, the French, who were already masters of the Austrian Netherlands, attacked and conquered Dutch Flanders. They blamed the Dutch for having sent constant supplies to Maria Theresa, for having invaded the French territory, and granted a retreat through their own to the enemy's troops, after

the battle of Fontenoy. This invasion spread terror in the province of Zealand, who thus saw themselves deprived of their barrier, and exposed to the inroads of the French. The partisans of the Prince of Orange took advantage of that circumstance to restore the Stadtholdership. This dignity, as well as that of Captain and Admiral-General of the Republic, had remained vacant since the death of William III.

William IV., Prince of Nassau-Dietz, though he was testamentary heir to that prince, had only obtained the Stadtholdership of Friesland, to which was afterwards added that of Groningen and Gueldres; but the efforts which he made to obtain the other offices and dignities of the ancient Princes of Orange, proved ineffectual. The four provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overysse, persisted in their free government, and even refused the Prince the office of General of Infantry, which he had requested. France, by attacking Dutch Flanders, contributed to the elevation of William. There was a general feeling in his favour in those provinces which had no Stadtholder; the people of the different towns and districts rose in succession, and obliged the magistrates to proclaim William IV. as Stadtholder and Captain-General. This revolution was achieved without disturbance; and without any obstacle on the part of those who had an interest in opposing it, but who were obliged to yield to the wishes of the people. They even went so far as to declare the Stadtholdership, as well as the offices of Captain and Admiral-General, hereditary in all the Prince's descendants, male and female—a circumstance unprecedented since the foundation of the Republic.

This change which happened in the Stadtholdership did not, however, prevent the French from making new conquests. They had no sooner got possession of Dutch Flanders, than they attacked the town of Maestricht. The Duke of Cumberland having advanced with the allied army to cover the town, a bloody battle took place near Laveld (July 2, 1747,) which was gained by the French, under the command of Marshal Saxe. The fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was deemed impregnable by its situation and the marshes which surrounded it, was carried by assault by Count Lewendal, two months after he had opened his trenches.

However brilliant the success of the French arms was on the Continent, they failed in almost all their maritime expeditions. The English took from them Louisburg and Cape Breton in America; and completely destroyed the French marine, which had been much neglected, under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury. All the belligerent powers at length felt the necessity of

peace; and there were two events which tended to accelerate it. The Empress of Russia, conformable to the engagements into which she had entered with the Courts of Vienna and London, by the treaties of 1746 and 1747, had despatched Prince Repnin to the Rhine, at the head of 30,000 men. Marshal Saxe, at the same time, had laid siege to Maestricht, in presence of the enemy, who were 80,000 strong. The taking of that city would have laid open all Holland to the French, and threatened the Republic with the most disastrous consequences.

A preliminary treaty was then signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was followed by a definitive peace (Oct. 18, 1748.) There all former treaties since that of Westphalia were renewed; a mutual restitution was made on both sides, of all conquests made during the war, both in Europe, and in the East and West Indies; and in consideration of the important restitutions which France had made on the Continent, they ceded to Don Philip, the son-in-law of Louis XV., and brother of Don Carlos, the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; to be possessed by him and his lawful heirs male. The treaty of preliminaries contained two conditions upon which the dutchies of Parma and Guastalla should revert to the Queen, and that of Placentia to the King of Sardinia; viz. (1.) Failing the male descendants of Don Philip. (2.) If Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, should be called to the throne of Spain. In this latter case, it was presumed that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should pass to Don Philip, the younger brother of that prince; but they did not seem to recollect that the peace of Vienna (1738) had secured this latter kingdom to Don Carlos, and all his descendants male and female; and consequently, nothing prevented that prince, should the case so happen, from transferring the Two Sicilies to one of his own younger sons; supposing even that he were not permitted to unite that kingdom with the Spanish monarchy. The plenipotentiaries having perceived this oversight after the conclusion of the preliminaries, took care to rectify it in the definitive treaty, by thus wording the second clause of the reversion, "*Should Don Philip, or any of his descendants, be either called to the throne of Spain, or to that of the Two Sicilies.*"

The Empress agreed to this change, but the King of Sardinia was not so complaisant. In respect to him, it was necessary make the definitive treaty entirely conformable to the preliminaries. It was this circumstance which prevented the King of the Two Sicilies, from acceding to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By that treaty the King of Sardinia was confirmed in those different possessions in the Milanais which the treaty of Worms had adjudged him. These, however, did not include that part of

Placentia which had just been ceded to Don Philip; nor the marquisate of Finale, which the Genoese retained. That Republic, and the Duke of Modena, who had always been the ally of France, were restored to the same state in which they were before the war. Silesia was guaranteed to the King of Prussia by the whole of the contracting powers. As for England, besides the guarantee of the British succession in favour of the House of Hanover, she obtained a renewal of the expulsion of the Pretender from the soil of France; while this latter power, victorious on the continent, consented to revive the humiliating clause in the treaty of Utrecht, which ordered the demolition of the Port of Dunkirk. The only modification which was made to this clause was, that the fortifications of the place on the land side should be preserved. Lastly, by the sixteenth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contract of the *Assiento* respecting the slave trade granted to England by the treaty of Utrecht, was renewed in favour of the English Company of the *Assiento*, for the four years in which that trade had been interrupted during the war.⁴

This peace produced no considerable change on the political state of Europe; but by maintaining the King of Prussia in his conquest of Silesia, it raised a rival to Austria in the very centre of the Empire. The unity of the Germanic body was thus broken, and that body divided between the two leading powers, Austria and Prussia. The system of aggrandizement and convenience which Frederic the Great had put in practice for depriving Austria of Silesia came afterwards into vogue; and by gradually undermining the system of equilibrium, which former treaties had introduced, it occasioned new revolutions in Europe.

The dispute about the Austrian succession, extended its influence to the North, where it kindled a war between Russia and Sweden. The Empress Anne, a little before her death (Oct. 17, 1740,) had destined as her successor on the throne of Russia, the young prince Iwan or John, the son of her niece Anne of Mecklenburg, by Prince Anthony Ulric of Brunswick. The Regency during the minority of Iwan, was conferred on her favourite Biron, whom she had raised to the first offices of the state, and created Duke of Courland. The mother of the young Emperor, indignant at seeing the management of affairs in the hands of a favourite, gained over to her interests Field-Marshal Munich, by whose assistance the Duke of Courland was arrested and banished to Siberia, whilst she herself was proclaimed Grand Dutchess and Regent of the Empire.

The ministry of this princess were divided in their opinions, on the subject of the war about the Austrian succession. Some

supported the cause of Prussia, with which Russia had just renewed her treaties of alliance; while others were inclined for Austria, the ancient ally of Russia. This latter party having prevailed, France, in order to prevent Russia from assisting Maria Theresa, thought proper to give her some occupation in the North. It was by no means difficult to raise Sweden against her; where the faction of the *Hats*, then the ruling party, was entirely devoted to the French interest. This faction, which was opposed by that of the *Bonnets*, or *Caps*, renewed the treaty of subsidy with France, and also concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance against Russia (Dec. 22, 1739.) Encouraged by the young nobles, they flattered themselves that the time was come, when Sweden would repair the losses which she had sustained by the foolish expeditions of Charles XII.

A Diet extraordinary was assembled at Stockholm (Aug. 1741,) which declared war against Russia. They alleged, among other motives, the exclusion of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, from the throne of Russia; the assassination of Major Sinclair, who had been murdered, as the Swedes affirmed, by the emissaries of Russia, while bearing despatches from Constantinople for the Swedish Court, and when he was passing through Silesia on his way to Stockholm. This declaration of war had been made, before the Swedes could take those measures which prudence should have dictated. They had neither an army fit for action, nor stores prepared in Finland; and their General, Count Lewenhaupt, had nothing to recommend him but his devotion to the ruling party. Sweden had flattered herself that the Turks would recommence the war with Russia, and that she would thus find resources in the alliance and subsidies of France. The first action, which took place near Wilmanstrand (Sept. 3, 1741) was quite in favour of the Russians; a great number of Swedes were there either killed or made prisoners, and the town of Wilmanstrand was carried sword in hand.

Meantime a revolution happened at St. Petersburg, which seemed to have brought about a favourable change for the Swedish government. The Princess Elizabeth, supported by the Marquis de la Chetardie, minister of France, and by a company of the guards whom she had drawn over to her interest, seized the Regent Anne, her husband the Prince of Brunswick, and the young Emperor; all of whom she sent into exile, and caused herself to be proclaimed Empress. The Swedes, who had flattered themselves with having aided in placing that princess on the throne, immediately entered into negotiations with her; but as they carried their pretensions too high, the conference was broken off, and the war continued.

The campaign of 1742, proved also unfortunate for Sweden. Their army in Finland, though equal in point of strength to that of Russia, durst not keep the field. They abandoned all their best posts one after another, and retired towards Helsingfors, beyond the river Kymen. Shut up in this position, and besieged by sea and land, they were obliged to capitulate. The Swedish troops returned home, the Finnish regiments laid down their arms, and the whole of Finland surrendered to the Russians.

The States of Sweden having assembled under these circumstances, and being desirous of an accommodation with Russia, offered the throne of Sweden to Charles Ulric, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and nephew of the Empress Elizabeth. That prince, however, declined the offer of the Diet. He had just been declared Grand Duke, and presumptive heir to the Russian Empire, and had embraced the Greek religion. This intelligence astounded the Diet, who then placed on the list of candidates for the throne, the Prince Royal of Denmark, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and the Bishop of Lubec, uncle to the new Grand Duke of Russia. A considerable party were inclined for the Prince of Denmark; and they were on the point of renewing the ancient union of the three kingdoms of the North in his favour. To prevent an election so prejudicial to the interests of Prussia, the Empress abated from the rigour of her first propositions, and offered to restore to the Swedes a great part of their conquests, on condition of bestowing their throne on Prince Adolphus Frederic, Bishop of Lubec. This condition having been acceded to, Prince Frederic was elected (July 3, 1743;) the succession to descend to his male heirs. A definitive peace was then concluded between Russia and Sweden, at Abo in Finland.

Sweden, by thus renouncing her alliance with the Porte, ratified anew all that she had surrendered to Russia by the peace of Nystadt. Moreover, she ceded to that Crown the province of Kymenegard in Finland, with the towns and fortresses of Friedrichsham and Wilmanstrand; as also the parish of Pyttis, lying to the east of the Kymen, and the ports, places, and districts, situated at the mouth of that river. The islands lying on the south and west of the Kymen were likewise included in this cession; as were also the town and fortress of Nyslott, with its territory. All the rest of Finland was restored to Sweden, together with the other conquests which Russia had made during the war. The Swedes were permitted to purchase annually in the Russian Ports of the Baltic, and the Gulf of Finland, grain to the value of 50,000 rubles, without paying any export duty.

Portugal, about the middle of the eighteenth century, became the scene of various memorable events, which attracted general

attention. John V., who had governed that kingdom from 1706 till 1750, had fallen into a state of weakness and dotage, and abandoned the reins of government to Don Gaspard, his confessor, under whose administration numerous abuses had crept into the state. Joseph I., the son and successor of John V., on ascending the throne (July 31, 1750,) undertook to reform these abuses. By the advice of his minister, Sebastian De Carvalho, afterwards created Count D'Oeyras, and Marquis De Pombal, he turned his attention to every branch of the administration. He patronized the arts and sciences, encouraged agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; regulated the finances; and used every effort to raise the army and navy of Portugal from that state of languor into which they had fallen. These innovations could not be accomplished without exciting discontent in the different orders of the state. The minister increased this by his inflexible severity, and the despotism which he displayed in the exercise of his ministerial functions; as well as by the antipathy which he showed against the nobility and the ministers of religion. The Companies which he instituted for exclusive commerce to the Indies, Africa, and China, raised against him the whole body of merchants in the kingdom. He irritated the nobility by the contempt which he testified towards them, and by annexing to the Crown those immense domains in Africa and America, which the nobles enjoyed by the munificence of former kings. The most powerful and the most dangerous enemies of this minister were the Jesuits, whom he had ventured to attack openly, and had even ordered to be expelled from Portugal. This event, which was attended with remarkable consequences, must be described more fully.

During the life of John V., a treaty had been signed between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon (1750,) in virtue of which the Portuguese colony of St. Sacramento and the northern bank of the river La Plata in America, were ceded to Spain, in exchange for a part of Paraguay, lying on the eastern bank of the Uruguay. This treaty was on the point of being carried into execution; the commissioners appointed for this purpose had commenced their labours; but the inhabitants of the ceded territories opposed the exchange, as did several individuals in both Courts. The Jesuits were suspected of being the authors and instigators of that opposition. In the territories which were to be ceded to Portugal, they had instituted a republic of the natives, which they governed as absolute masters; and which they were afraid would be subverted, if the exchange in question should take place. They used every means, therefore, to thwart the arrangements of the two courts; and it is alleged they even went so far

as to excite a rebellion among the inhabitants of the countries to be exchanged. The consequence was, a long and expensive war between the two crowns, which occasioned much bloodshed, and cost Portugal alone nearly twenty millions of cruzados.

In the midst of these events, there occurred a terrible earthquake, which, in the twinkling of an eye, demolished the greater part of Lisbon, and destroyed between twenty and thirty thousand of its inhabitants (Nov. 1, 1755.) Fire consumed whatever had escaped from the earthquake; while the overflowing of the sea, cold and famine, added to the horrors of these calamities, which extended even over a great part of the kingdom. The Jesuits were reproached for having, at the time of this distressing event, announced new disasters, which were to overwhelm Portugal, as a punishment for the sins of which the inhabitants had been guilty. These predictions, added to the commotions which still continued in Brazil, served as a pretext for depriving the Jesuits of their office of Court-confessors, shutting them out from the palace, and even interdicting them from hearing confessions over the whole kingdom.

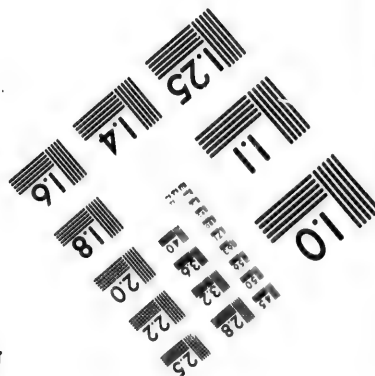
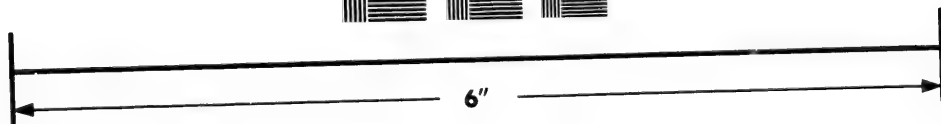
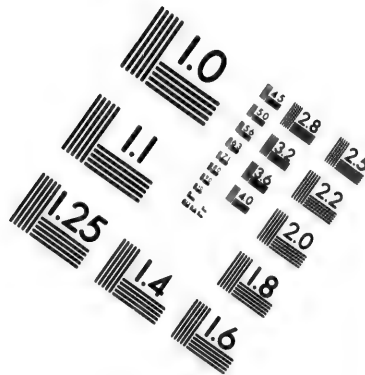
The outrage which was committed against the King's person immediately after, furnished the minister with another pretext against that religious order. The King, when going by night to Belem, (Sept. 3, 1758,) was attacked by assassins, who mistook him for another, and fired several shots at him, by which he was severely wounded. Several of the first nobles in the kingdom were accused, among others the Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis and Marchioness de Tavora, the Count d'Atougia, &c. as being the ringleaders in this plot against the King's life, who were sentenced to execution accordingly, [but their innocence was afterwards fully established.]

The Jesuits were also implicated in this affair, and publicly declared accomplices in the King's assassination. They were proscribed as traitors and disturbers of the public peace; their goods were confiscated; and every individual belonging to the order was embarked at once at the several ports of the kingdom, without any regard to age or infirmities, and transported to Civita Vecchia within the Pope's dominions. The Portuguese minister, apprehensive that this religious order, if preserved in the other states of Europe, would find means, sooner or later, to return to Portugal, used every endeavour to have their Society entirely suppressed. He succeeded in this attempt by means of the negotiations which he set on foot with several of the Catholic courts. In France the Society was dissolved, in virtue of the decrees issued by the parliament (1762.) Paris set the first example of this. Louis XV. declared,

That the Society should no longer exist within the kingdom. The Court of Madrid, where they had two powerful enemies in the ministry, Counts d'Aranda and de Campomanes, commanded all the Jesuits to depart from the territory and jurisdiction of Spain; and, at the same time, declared their goods confiscated. They were likewise expelled from the kingdom of Naples; and the order was at length entirely suppressed, by a brief of Pope Clement XIV. (July 21, 1773).⁵

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had by no means restored a good understanding between France and England. A jealous rivalry divided the two nations, which served to nourish and multiply subjects of discord between them. Besides, the activity of the French in repairing their marine, which had been destroyed in the last war, was viewed with jealousy by Great Britain, then aspiring to the absolute command of the sea, and conscious that France alone was able to counteract her ambitious projects. Several matters of dispute, which the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had left undecided, still subsisted between the two nations, relative to their possessions in America. The principal of these, regarded the boundaries of Nova Scotia and Canada, and the claims to the neutral islands. Nova Scotia had been ceded to England, by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, according to its ancient limits. These limits the French had circumscribed within the bounds of the peninsula which forms that province; while the English insisted on extending them to the southern bank of the river St. Lawrence, of which the exclusive navigation belonged to the French.

The limits of Canada were not better defined than those of Nova Scotia. The French, with the view of opening a communication between Canada and Louisiana, had constructed several forts along the river Ohio, on the confines of the English colonies in America. This was opposed by England, who was afraid that these establishments would endanger the safety of her colonies, especially that of Virginia. The neutral islands, namely the Caribees, which comprehended St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, still remained in a contested state, according to the ninth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The French, however, alleged certain acts of possession, by which they claimed the property of these islands, as well as of the Caicos and Turkish islands. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to bring these disputes to an amicable termination. A conference was opened at Paris, which began about the end of September 1750, and continued for several years; but as neither party was disposed to act with sincerity, these conferences ended in nothing. The English, who saw that the



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French only sought to gain time for augmenting their marine, hastened the rupture by committing acts of hostility in America.

The first breach of the peace was committed on the banks of the Ohio, where the French, to avenge the murder of one of their officers, seized on Fort Necessity, belonging to the English (July 1754.) The English, on their side, captured two French vessels off the Bank of Newfoundland, which had refused to salute the English flag. They even attacked all the French merchantmen which they met, and captured about three hundred of them. Thus, a long and bloody war was waged for the deserts and uncultivated wilds of America, which extended its ravages over all parts of the globe, involving more especially the countries of Europe.

England, according to a well known political stratagem, sought to occupy the French arms on the Continent; in order to prevent the increase of her maritime strength. France, instead of avoiding that snare, and confining herself solely to naval operations, committed the mistake of falling in with the views of the British minister. While repelling the hostilities of England by sea, she adopted at the same time measures for invading the Electorate of Hanover. The Court of London, wishing to guard against this danger, began by forming a closer alliance with Russia (Sept. 30, 1755;) they demanded of the Empress those supplies which they thought they might claim in virtue of former treaties; and on the refusal of that princess, who was afraid to disoblige France, and to find herself attacked by Prussia, they applied to this latter power, with which they concluded a treaty at Westminster (Jan. 16, 1756;) the chief object of which was to prevent foreign troops from entering into the Empire during the war between France and England. To this treaty France opposed the alliance which she had concluded with Austria at Versailles, by which the two powers guaranteed their respective possessions in Europe, and promised each other a mutual supply of twenty-four thousand men in case of attack. The differences then subsisting between France and Great Britain were not reckoned among the *Casus Federis*.

[The alliance of 1756 has given rise to different opinions among statesmen; the greater part have condemned it. Its object was, on the part of France, to guard herself against all attacks on the Continent, that she might direct her whole force against her maritime rival; but experience proved, that without attaining this object, she was henceforth obliged to take part in all the disputes of the Continent, however foreign they might be to her own policy. It was even contrary to her interests to

have Austria extricated from the embarrassments which the opposition of Prussia had occasioned her. If that project had succeeded, Austria would have become the preponderating power in Germany, to a degree which would have compelled the French to turn their arms against her.]

While the French were still hesitating as to the part which they ought to take relative to the Electorate of Hanover, the King of Prussia invaded Saxony (Aug. 1756.) On taking this step, he published a manifesto, the object of which was to prove by the despatches of the three Courts of Vienna, Dresden, and Petersburg, that they had concerted a plan among them for attacking him; and that common prudence required him to prevent it. He declared at the same time, that his entrance into Saxony had no other aim than that of opening a communication with Bohemia; and that he would only retain that country as a depôt until the conclusion of the peace. This invasion, however, stirred up a powerful league against Prussia (1757.) Besides France and the Empress, it was joined by the Germanic body, Russia and Sweden. France, which had at first restricted herself to furnishing the Empress with the supplies stipulated by the alliance, agreed, by a subsequent treaty, to despatch an army of more than 100,000 men into Germany, against the King of Prussia, and his ally the King of England; and, moreover, to pay to that Princess an annual subsidy of twelve millions of florins.

In this war the French arms were attended at first with the most brilliant success. They conquered the island of Minorca, and seized the Electorate of Hesse, and the whole States of Brunswick and Hanover; but fortune soon turned her back on them, when they experienced nothing but defeats and disasters.⁶ The extraordinary efforts which they were making on the Continent naturally tended to relax their maritime operations, and thus afforded England the means of invading their possessions in other parts of the world. In the years 1757 and 1761, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé, in the East Indies, fell into the hands of the English; and in 1758, they seized on all the French settlements on the river Senegal and the coasts of Africa. The Islands of Cape Breton and St. John in America; the forts and settlements on the Ohio; Quebec (where General Wolfe fell,) and the whole of Canada, were all conquered in like manner, between the years 1756 and 1760. Finally, the Islands of Guadaloupe, Mariagalante, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago, were also taken from France.

The King of Prussia, though overwhelmed by the number of his enemies, and finding no great assistance from his alliance

with England, nevertheless did not lose courage. He distinguished himself by the number of victories which he gained over the powers leagued against him, during the campaigns of the Seven Years' War.⁷ This war was already far advanced, when the Duke de Choiseul, who was then at the head of the French ministry, observing the great superiority of the English by sea, conceived the plan of the famous *Family Compact*, which he negotiated with the Court of Madrid, and which was concluded at Paris (August 15, 1761.) The object of this treaty was to cement an alliance and a perpetual union among the different branches of the House of Bourbon, for the purpose of counterbalancing the maritime power of England.

The King of Spain had come under no engagement to join in the war which subsisted between France and England; but the haughty manner in which the Court of London demanded of him an account of the principles of the *Family Compact*, gave rise to a declaration of war between these two courts. Spain and France required the King of Portugal to accede to their alliance against England. That prince in vain alleged the treaties which connected him with the English nation, and which would not permit him to take part against them. A declaration, published by the two allied courts, set forth, that the Spanish troops should enter Portugal to secure the ports of that kingdom, and that it should be left at the King's option to receive them as friends or as enemies; and it was this which laid him under the necessity of declaring himself in favour of England (May 18, 1762.) An English fleet, with a supply of troops, was then sent to the relief of Portugal; while a body of French troops joined the Spanish army which was destined to act against that kingdom. The city of Almeida was the only conquest which the Spaniards made in Portugal. The English, on the contrary, took from the Spaniards the Havana, and a great part of the Island of Cuba in America; as also Manilla and the Philippines in the Indian Ocean. The war thus became more general, and seemed about to assume a new vigour, when an unforeseen event changed entirely the face of affairs, and disposed the belligerents for peace.

Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, died about this time; and Peter III., nephew to that princess, ascended the throne. Peter, who was a great admirer of the King of Prussia, took an early opportunity of making peace with that prince. A suspension of arms was signed between the two crowns, which was followed by a treaty of peace concluded at St. Petersburg (May 5, 1762.) By that treaty, Russia surrendered all the conquests which she had made in Prussia and Pomerania during the war. Peter

renounced the alliances which he had formerly contracted against the King of Prussia; while he, in his turn, refused to form alliances or engagements contrary to the interests of Russia, or to the hereditary possessions of Peter in Germany. But the new Emperor was not content with testifying this mark of affection for the King of Prussia. He agreed to send a body of troops into Silesia to his assistance. A revolution, however, happened in Russia, which occasioned new changes. Peter III. was dethroned (July 9,) after a reign of six months. The Empress Catherine II., his widow, on ascending the throne, preserved the treaty of peace with the King of Prussia; but she recalled her troops from Silesia, and declared that she would maintain neutrality between the King and the Empress.

Sweden, who had experienced nothing but defeats in course of that war, followed the example of Russia. She agreed to a suspension of arms with the King of Prussia, and soon after concluded a treaty of peace with him at Hamburg (May 22, 1762.) These two treaties paved the way for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were signed at Fountainebleau, between France, England, Spain and Portugal. The definitive peace was concluded at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763.) This treaty was followed by that of Hubertsburg, which reconciled Prussia with the Empress and the Elector of Saxony.

By this latter treaty, the Empress surrendered to the King of Prussia the province of Glatz, as also the fortresses of Wesel and Gueldres. The Elector of Saxony again took possession of those States which the King of Prussia had taken from him; and the treaties of Breslau, Berlin and Dresden, were renewed. Thus, after seven campaigns, as sanguinary as they were expensive, the peace of Hubertsburg restored the affairs of Germany to the same state in which they had been before the war.

France, by the treaty of Paris, ceded to England Canada and the island of Cape Breton, with the islands and coasts of the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. The boundaries between the two nations in North America were fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth. All on the left or eastern bank of that river was given up to England, except the city of New Orleans, which was reserved to France; as was also the liberty of the fisheries on a part of the coasts of Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were given them as a shelter for their fishermen, but without permission to raise fortifications. The islands of Martinico, Gaudaloupe, Mariagalante, Desirada, and St. Lucia, were surrendered to France; while Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, were ceded to

England. The latter power retained her conquests on the Senegal, and restored to France the island of Gorea on the coast of Africa. France was put in possession of the forts and factories which belonged to her in the East Indies, on the coasts of Coromandel, Orissa, Malabar, and Bengal, under the restriction of keeping up no military force in Bengal.

In Europe, France restored all the conquests she had made in Germany; as also the island of Minorca. England gave up to her Belleisle on the coast of Brittany; while Dunkirk was kept in the same condition as had been determined by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The island of Cuba, with the Havana, was restored to the King of Spain, who, on his part, ceded to England Florida, with Fort Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola. The King of Portugal was restored to the same state in which he had been before the war. The colony of St. Sacrament in America, which the Spaniards had conquered, was given back to him.⁸

The peace of Paris, of which we have just now spoken, was the era of England's greatest prosperity. Her commerce and navigation extended over all parts of the globe, and were supported by a naval force, so much the more imposing, as it was no longer counterbalanced by the maritime power of France, which had been almost annihilated in the preceding war. The immense territories which that peace had secured her, both in Africa and America, opened new channels for her industry, and, what deserves especially to be remarked, is, that she acquired at the same time vast and important possessions in the East Indies.

The Empire of the Great Mogul in India had fallen into decay about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The viceroys and petty governors of the Empire, called *Soubahs* and *Nabobs*, had become independent, and usurped the prerogatives of royalty in the districts under their authority; while the Mogul Emperor, reduced almost to the single city of Delhi, his capital, preserved nothing but the shadow of sovereign power, by means of the investitures which he granted to these ambitious princes, and the coinage that was struck in his name. Whenever any differences arose among these princes, they usually had recourse to the European nations, who had settlements in India, and had erected forts with the consent of the Great Mogul, where they kept an armed force for the protection of their commerce. If the French took the part of one nabob, it was sufficient to induce the English to espouse the quarrel of his adversary; and while the two nations were mutually cultivating peace in Europe they were often at the same time making war in India, by fur

nishing supplies to their respective allies. Success was for a long time equal on both sides; and it was not until the war of 1755, and by the victories and conquests of the famous Lord Clive, that England obtained a decided ascendancy over the French in that quarter of the world.

Sourajah Dowlah, the Soubah of Bengal, instigated, as is supposed, by the French, had taken possession of Calcutta (1756,) the principal settlement of the English on the Ganges. His cruel treatment of the English garrison, which he had made prisoners of war, excited the resentment of that nation. To avenge this outrage, Colonel Clive, supported by Admiral Watson, retook Calcutta (Jan. 1757;) and after having dispossessed the French of Chandernagore, their principal establishment on the Ganges, he vanquished the Soubah in several actions, deposed him, and put in his place Jaffier Ali Khan, his general and prime minister, who was entirely devoted to England.

With this era commences the foundation of the British Empire in India. It happened a short time after, that the Mogul Emperor, Shah Allum, being driven from his capital by the Patans, an Indian tribe, solicited the protection of the English, who availed themselves of this occasion, as well as of the death of Jaffier Ali, which happened at this time, to get themselves vested by treaty (1765,) and by means of an Imperial charter, in the sovereignty of all Bengal. In virtue of this title, which legitimated their power in the eyes of the people, they seized on the public revenues of the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; with the reservation of an annual tribute, which they promised to pay to the Mogul Emperor, and certain pensions which they assigned to the Soubahs, whose phantom power they disposed of at their pleasure. The dominion of the English in India, was increased still more by subsequent conquests; the most important of which was the powerful state of Mysore, which they utterly overthrew, after a series of wars which they carried on with Hyder Ali, and his successor Tippoo Saib.⁹

[The death of Ferdinand VI., King of Spain, was an event of some importance. He was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, King of the Two Sicilies, and eldest son of Philip V. by his second marriage, who assumed the title of Charles III. Under this prince the philosophy of the eighteenth century penetrated into Spain, where it displayed an energy, and gave rise to consequences, which had not yet attended it in France. It occasioned the downfall of the Jesuits, which was accompanied by deeds repugnant to justice and humanity. The ministers and counsellors of that monarch, the Counts Arranda, Florida Blanca, and Campomanes, introduced into the internal administration

of Spain, especially its finances and tactics, an order and regularity which had been long unknown in that country. Agriculture, commerce, and industry were beginning to recover from their langour, when the American war again threw them into a state of fatal depression.]

Before quitting Naples to take possession of the throne of Spain, Don Carlos, who, as King of the Two Sicilies, had the title of Charles VII., published a fundamental law, bearing, that agreeably to former treaties which did not admit the union of the Italian States with the Spanish monarchy, he transferred the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his third son Don Ferdinand; as his eldest son, Don Philip, was incapable of reigning, and his second, Don Carlos, was destined for the throne of Spain. He intrusted the administration to a regency, during the nonage of the young prince, whose majority was fixed at the age of seventeen. By this law he regulated the order of succession which was to take place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and which was the same as that which Philip V. had established in Spain at the Cortes of 1713. After the descendants male and female of his own body, Charles substituted his brothers Don Philip, Duke of Parma, and Don Louis; adding, that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should never in any case be united with the Spanish monarchy. This regulation of the new King of Spain accorded perfectly with the terms of the seventh article of the treaty of Vienna (1738,) which secured the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to that prince and his descendants, male and female; and failing these, to his younger brothers and their descendants, of both sexes.

The King of Sardinia continued, however, to enforce his right of reversion to that part of Placentia, which the fourth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had secured to him, in case Don Carlos should remove from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to the crown of Spain. The Court of France, wishing to retain that possession for Don Philip, and to prevent the tranquillity of Italy from being disturbed by the pretensions of the King of Sardinia, engaged to procure that prince an equivalent with which he should have reason to be satisfied. This equivalent was settled (June 10, 1763) by a convention concluded at Paris, between France, Spain, and the King of Sardinia. The latter consented to restrict his right of reversion in the two cases specified in the seventh article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; viz. (1.) Failing the male descendants of Don Philip; (2.) Should that prince, or one of his descendants, be called either to the throne of Spain or to that of the Two Sicilies; and should one or other of these two cases happen in the meantime, the crowns of France and

Spain engaged that the King of Sardinia should enjoy the same amount of annual revenue, which might accrue to him (after deducting the expenses of administration,) from that part of Placentia on the Nura, should he ever come into actual possession. For this purpose, France undertook, by a special agreement, which was signed at Paris the same day with the preceding, to pay the King of Sardinia, by twelve instalments, the sum of eight millions two hundred livres; on condition of reverting to France, should one or other of these alternatives happen.

The sudden aggrandizement of Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, had changed the political system of the North. That power had raised herself to the first rank. She dictated the law to Poland and Sweden, her ancient rivals; disposed of the throne of Poland on every change of reign; and at the same time decided the fate of Courland. That dutchy, which had long been possessed by the family of Kettler who held it as a fief of the crown of Poland, had become vacant on the death of the Duke Ferdinand, the last male descendant of that House. Ann, Empress of Russia, being then only Dutchess of Courland, had a favourite, named Ernest John Biron, a man raised by fortune, whose grandfather had been groom to James III., Duke of Courland. When that princess mounted the throne of Russia, she raised Biron to the rank of Count, and to the office of Great Chamberlain and Prime Minister. The haughty favourite assumed the name and arms of the family of Biron, in France; and prevailed with the Empress to grant him the dutchy of Courland. At the death of the last Duke, he even succeeded in getting himself elected by the States of that country (1737;) with the aid of a body of Russian troops, which the Empress had sent to Mittau, to support his election. He was invested in the dutchy by the Republic of Poland, to be possessed by himself and his heirs-male; but he did not long enjoy this new dignity. He was deprived of it on the death of the Empress (1740;), and banished to Siberia by the Grand Dutchess Ann, mother of the young Emperor. This princess caused a new election to be made by the nobility of Courland. The dutchy was then conferred on Louis Ernest, Prince of Brunswick, who was to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. But the young Emperor, Ivan, having been dethroned immediately after, the Prince of Brunswick never obtained possession of the dutchy. The Empress Elizabeth having declared to the Republic of Poland that the Duke de Biron should never be liberated from his exile, Augustus III., King of Poland, declared the dutchy of Courland vacant. He then prevailed on the States of that country to elect his own son, Prince Charles, whom he solemnly invested in the dutchy (1759.)

A new change happened at the death of the Empress Elizabeth, in 1762. Peter III., on his accession to the throne of Russia, recalled the Duke de Biron from his exile. The Empress, Catherine II., who succeeded her husband that same year, went even farther than this; she demanded the restoration of de Biron to the dutchy of Courland, and obliged Prince Charles of Saxony to give it up to him (1769.) The Duke de Biron then resigned the dutchy to his son Peter, who, after a reign of twenty-five years, surrendered it to the Empress; the States of Courland and Semigallia made a formal submission to Russia (March 28, 1795.)

The dethronement of Peter III., which we have just mentioned, was an event very favourable to Denmark, as it relieved that kingdom from a ruinous war with which it was threatened on the part of the Emperor. Peter III. was the head of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, whom Denmark had deprived of their possessions in Sleswick, by taking advantage of the disasters that befell Sweden, which had protected that family against the Danish kings. The Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp exclaimed against that usurpation; to which the Court of Denmark had nothing to oppose, except their right of conquest, and the guarantee which the Kings of France and England, as mediators in the treaty of Stockholm, had given to Denmark with respect to Sleswick.

Peter III. was scarcely seated on the throne of Russia, when he began to concert means for recovering his ancient patrimonial domains, and avenging the wrongs which the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, his ancestors, had received at the hands of Denmark. Being determined to make war against that power, he attached the King of Prussia to his cause, and marched a Russian army of 60,000 men towards the frontiers of Denmark. Six thousand Prussians were to join this army, which was supported by a Russian fleet to be stationed on the coasts of Pomerania. The King of Denmark made every effort to repel the invasion with which he was threatened. He set on foot an army of 70,000 men, the command of which he intrusted to M. de St. Germain, a distinguished French officer.

The Danish army advanced towards Mecklenburg, and established their head-quarters in the town of that name, one league from Wismar. The Danish fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line and eleven frigates, appeared at the same time off Rostock. The flames of war were about to kindle in the North, and Peter III. was on the point of joining his army in person at Mecklenburg, when he was dethroned, after a short reign of six months (July 9, 1762.) The Empress Catherine

II., who succeeded him, did not think fit to espouse the quarrel of her husband. She immediately recalled the Russian army from Mecklenburg; and being desirous of establishing the tranquillity of the North on a solid basis, and confirming a good understanding between the two principal branches of the House of Holstein, she agreed, by a treaty of alliance with the King of Denmark (1765,) to terminate all these differences by a provisional arrangement, which was not to take effect until the majority of the Grand Duke Paul, the son of Peter III.

This accommodation between the two Courts was signed at Copenhagen (April 22, 1762.) The Empress, in the name of her son, gave up her claim to the ducal part of Sleswick, occupied by the King of Denmark. She ceded, moreover, to that sovereign a portion of Holstein, possessed by the family of Gottorp, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. It was agreed, that these counties should be erected into dutchies, and that the ancient suffrage of Holstein-Gottorp, at the Imperial Diet, should be transferred to them. This provisional treaty was ratified when the Grand Duke came of age; and the transference of the ceded territories took place in 1773. At the same time that prince declared, that he designed the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst to form an establishment for a younger branch of his family, that of Eutin; to which the contracting powers also secured the bishopric of Lubec, to be held in perpetual possession. The bishop of Lubec, the head of the younger branch of the Gottorp family, was that same year put in possession of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; and the Emperor Joseph II. erected these counties into a dutchy and fief male of the Empire, under the title of the Dutchy of Holstein-Oldenburg.

Here it will be necessary to advert to the revolutions that took place in the Island of Corsica, which, after a long series of troubles and distractions, passed from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The oppressions which the Corsicans had suffered under the government of the Genoese, who treated them with extreme rigour, had rendered their yoke odious and insupportable. They rose several times in rebellion against the Republicans; but from the want of union among themselves, they failed in the different attempts which they made for effecting their liberty and independence.

One of the last insurrections of the Corsicans was that of 1729. They chose for their leader Andrew Ceccaldi of a noble family in the Island, and Luigi Giafferi, a man of courage and an enthusiast for liberty. The Genoese, after trying in vain to subdue the insurgents, were obliged to have recourse to the pro-

tection of foreigners. They applied to the Emperor Charles VI., who sent them several detachments of troops under the command of General Wachtendonk, and Prince Frederic Louis of Wurtemberg. The Corsicans, too feeble to oppose an enemy so superior in strength, were glad to lay down their arms. But the war about the Polish Succession having obliged the Emperor to withdraw his troops, the Islanders raised a new insurrection. A general assembly was then convened, which declared Corsica to be a free and independent republic (1734.) Giafferi was re-elected General, and had for his colleague Hyacinthus Paoli, father to the famous general of that name. Thus the Genoese, after lavishing much expense on auxiliary troops, had the mortification to find themselves still in the same condition in which they were, before receiving the Imperial succours. They then took into their pay bodies of Swiss and Grison troops; and even enlisted outlaws and vagabonds, and placed them in their ranks to oppose the Corsicans.

It happened, during these transactions, that an adventurer appeared in Corsica, the celebrated Theodore Baron Neuhof. He was descended of a noble family in the county of Mark, in Westphalia; and having procured arms and ammunition at Tunis, he repaired to Corsica (1736,) where he was determined to try his fortune. His engaging manners, added to the prospects which he held out of a powerful foreign assistance, induced the Corsicans to confer on him the royal dignity. He was proclaimed King of Corsica, and immediately assumed the external badges of royalty. He appointed guards and officers of state, coined money in his own name, and created an order of knighthood, called the *Redemption*. Taking advantage of the enthusiasm with which he had inspired the Corsicans, he boldly made war on the Genoese, and laid several of their places under blockade. But his money being exhausted, and the people beginning to cool in their attachment towards him, he took the determination of applying for assistance to foreigners. He embarked for Holland, where he found means to engage a society of merchants, by the allurements of a lucrative commerce with Corsica, to furnish him with artillery, ammunition, and other supplies, with which he returned to the Island.

Under these circumstances, the Genoese, threatened with losing for ever their sovereignty over Corsica, entered into an association with the Court of Versailles. This Court, fearing that England would take advantage of these disturbances to get possession of the Island, concerted measures with the Court of Vienna, for obliging the Corsicans to return to their allegiance to the Genoese. For this purpose, a plan of pacification was

drawn up at Versailles, and Count de Boissieux was charged to carry it into execution. This General landed in the Island (1738,) at the head of a body of French auxiliaries; and his arrival determined King Theodore to abandon Corsica, and seek his safety in flight. He retired to London, where he was imprisoned for debt. After a long captivity he was set at liberty, and died in a state of misery (1756.) Boissieux harassed the Corsicans exceedingly, but he failed in his efforts to reduce them to submission. His successor, the Marquis de Maillebois, was more fortunate; he took his measures with such precision and vigour, that he obliged the Islanders to lay down their arms, and receive the law from the conqueror. Their Generals, Gianeri and Paoli, retired to Naples.

The war of the Austrian Succession having obliged the French Court to recall their troops from Corsica, that island became the scene of new disturbances. Gafforio and Matra then took upon them the functions of generalship, and the direction of affairs. They had a colleague and coadjutor in the person of Count Rivarola, a native of Corsica, who, with the assistance of some English vessels succeeded in expelling the Genoese from Bastia and San Fiorenzo. The Corsicans might have pushed their advantages much farther, if they could have subdued their own feuds and private animosities, and employed themselves solely in promoting the public interest; but their internal divisions retarded their success, and allowed their enemies to recover the places they had conquered. Rivarola and Matra having resigned the command, the sole charge devolved on Gafforio, who was a man of rare merit and of tried valour. He was beginning to civilize his countrymen, and to give some stability to the government of the island, when he was assassinated, as is supposed, by the emissaries of the Genoese (1753.) His death plunged Corsica once more into the state of disorder and anarchy, from which he had laboured to deliver it.

At length appeared the celebrated Pascal Paoli, whom his aged father had brought from Naples to Corsica. Being elected General-in-chief by his countrymen (1755,) he inspired them with fresh courage; and while he carried on the war with success against the Genoese, he made efforts to reform abuses in the State, and to encourage agriculture, letters and arts. Nothing was wanting to accomplish this object, and to confirm the liberty and independence of his country, but the expulsion of the Genoese from the maritime towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, Calvi, Alghagliola and Ajaccio; the only places which still remained in their power. In this he would probably have succeeded, had he not met with new interruptions from France, who had underta-

ken, by the several treaties which she had concluded with the Genoese in the years 1752, 1755, 1756 and 1764, to defend their ports and fortifications in that island.

The original intention of the French, in taking possession of these places, was not to carry on hostilities with Paoli and the natives, but simply to retain them for a limited time, in discharge of a debt which the French government had contracted with the Republic of Genoa. The Genoese had flattered themselves, that if exonerated from the duty of guarding the fortified places, they would be able, with their own forces, to reconquer all the rest of the island; but it was not long before they found themselves deceived in their expectations. The Corsicans drove the Genoese from the island of Capraja (1767.) They even took possession of Ajaccio, and some other parts which the French had thought fit to abandon. At the same time the shipping of the Corsicans made incessant incursions on the Genoese, and annoyed their commerce.

The Senate of Genoa, convinced at last that it was impossible for them to subdue the island, and seeing the time approach when the French troops were to take their departure, took the resolution of surrendering their rights over Corsica to the crown of France, by a treaty which was signed at Versailles (May 15, 1768.) The King promised to restore the island of Capraja to the Republic. He guaranteed to them all their possessions on *terra firma*; and engaged to pay them annually for ten years, the sum of 200,000 livres. The Genoese reserved to themselves the right of reclaiming the sovereignty of Corsica, on reimbursing the King for the expenses of the expedition he was about to undertake, as well as for the maintenance of his troops. This treaty occasioned strong remonstrances on the part of the Corsicans, who prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. The first campaign turned to their advantage. It cost France several thousand men, and about thirty millions of livres. The Duke de Choiseul, far from being discouraged by these disasters, transported a strong force into the island. He put the Count de Vaux in the place of the Marquis de Chauvelin, who, by the skilful dispositions which he made, found himself master of all Corsica, in less than two months. The Islanders not having received from England the supplies which they had requested, the prospect of which had kept up their courage, considered it rash and hopeless to make longer resistance. The different provinces, in their turn, gave in their submission; and the principal leaders of the Corsicans dispersed themselves among the neighbouring States. Pascal Paoli took refuge in England.

The throne of Poland having become vacant by the death of

Augustus III. (Oct. 5, 1763,) the Empress Catherine II. destined that crown for Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, who had gained her favour when he resided at St. Petersburg as plenipotentiary of Poland. That princess having gained over the Court of Berlin to her interests, sent several detachments of troops into Poland; and in this manner succeeded in carrying the election of her favourite, who was proclaimed King at the Diet of Warsaw (Sept. 7, 1764.) It was at this diet of election that the Empress formally interceded with the Republic in favour of the *Dissidents* (or dissenters) of Poland and Lithuania, with the view of having them reinstated in those civil and ecclesiastical rights, of which they had been deprived by the intolerance of the Catholics. The name of Dissidents was then given in Poland to the Greek non-conformists and to the Protestants, both Lutherans and Calvinists. That kingdom, as well as Lithuania, had contained from the earliest ages a vast number of Greeks, who persisted in their schism, in spite of the efforts which were incessantly made by the Polish clergy for bringing them back to the pale of the Romish church. The Protestant doctrines had been introduced into Poland, and had made considerable progress in course of the seventeenth century; more especially under the reign of Sigismund Augustus. The nobles who were attached to that form of worship, had obtained, at the Diet of Wilna (1563,) the right of enjoying, along with the Greeks, all the prerogatives of their rank, and of being admitted without distinction, both to the assemblies of the Diet, and the offices and dignities of the Republic. Moreover, their religious and political liberties had been guaranteed in the most solemn manner, not only by treaties of alliance, and the *Pacta Conventa* of the kings, but also by the laws and constitution of their kingdom. The Catholics having afterwards become the stronger party, their zeal, animated by their clergy and the Jesuits, led them to persecute those whom they regarded as heretics. They had in various ways circumscribed their religious liberties, especially at the Diet of 1717; and in those of 1733 and 1736, they went so far as to exclude them from the diets and tribunals, and in general from all places of trust; only preserving the peace with them according to the ancient laws of the Republic.

The Dissidents availed themselves of the influence which the Empress of Russia had secured in the affairs of Poland, to obtain by her means the redress of their grievances. That princess interposed more especially in favour of the Greeks, according to the ninth article of the peace of Moscow between Russia and Poland (1686;) while the Courts of Berlin, Stockholm, London, and Copenhagen, as guarantees of the peace of Oliva

urged the second article of that treaty in support of the Protestant dissenters. Far from yielding to an intercession so powerful, the Diet of Warsaw, instigated by the clergy and the Court of Rome, in the year 1766 confirmed all the former laws against the Protestants which the foreign courts had desired to be altered and amended. They merely introduced some few modifications in the law of 1717, relative to the exercise of their worship.

This palliative did not satisfy the Court of St. Petersburg, which persisted in demanding an entire equality of rights in favour of those under its protection. The Dissidents had the courage to resist, and entered into a confederacy at the assemblies which were held at Sluckz (1767) and Thorn. Such of the Catholic nobility as were discontented with the government, allied themselves with the Dissidents, and formed several distinct confederacies, which afterwards combined into a general confederation under Marshal Prince Radzivil. An extraordinary Diet was then assembled at Warsaw. Their deliberations, which began October 5, 1767, were very tumultuous. Without being intimidated by the presence of a Russian army, the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents gave way to the full torrent of their zeal, in the discourses which they pronounced before the Diet. The Empress caused them to be arrested and conducted into the interior of Russia, whence they were not permitted to return till after an exile of several years. They agreed at length, at that Diet, to appoint a committee, composed of the different orders of the Republic, to regulate all matters regarding the Dissidents, in concert with the ministers of the protecting courts. A separate act was drawn up (February 24, 1768) in the form of a convention between Russia and Poland.

By that act, the Dissidents were reinstated in all their former rights. The regulations which had been passed to their prejudice in the years 1717, 1733, 1736, and 1766, were annulled; and a superior court, composed equally of both parties, was granted to them, for terminating all disputes which might arise between persons of different religions. This act was confirmed by the treaty of peace and alliance concluded at Warsaw between Russia and Poland (Feb. 24, 1768), by which these two powers guaranteed to each other the whole of their possessions in Europe. The Empress of Russia guaranteed, more especially, the liberty, constitution, and indivisibility of the Polish Republic.

The act we have just now mentioned, as well as another which modified what were called the cardinal or fundamental laws of the Republic, having displeased a great majority of the Poles, they used every effort to have these acts recalled. The

Diet of 1768 was no sooner terminated, than they formed themselves into a confederacy at Bar in Podolia, for the defence of their religion and liberties. By degrees, these extended to several Palatinates, and were at length combined into a general confederation, under the Marshal Count De Pac. The standards of these confederates bore representations of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus. Like the Crusaders of the middle ages, they wore embroidered crosses on their garments, with the motto *Conquer or Die*. The Russians despatched troops to disperse the confederates as fast as they combined: but at length, with the assistance of France, and M. De Vergennes, the French Ambassador at the Porte, they succeeded in stirring up the Turks against the Russians. The war between these two Empires broke out towards the end of 1768, which proved disastrous for the Turks, and suppressed also the confederates in Poland. The manifesto of the Grand Signior against Russia was published October 30th, and his declaration of war December 4th, 1768.

The Empress despatched several armies against the Turks, and attacked them at once from the banks of the Dniester to Mount Caucasus. Prince Alexander Galitzin, who commanded the principal army, was to cover Poland, and penetrate into Moldavia. He passed the Dniester different times, but was always repulsed by the Turks, who were not more fortunate in their attempts to force the passage of that river. On their last attempt (September 1769,) twelve thousand men had succeeded in crossing it, when there happened a sudden flood which broke down the bridge, and cut off the retreat of the Turks. This body was cut to pieces by the Russians, when a panic seized the Ottoman army, who abandoned their camp and the fortress of Choczim. The Russians took possession of both without costing them a single drop of blood, and soon after penetrated into the interior of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The campaign of 1770 was most splendid for the Russians. General Romanzow, who succeeded Prince Galitzin in the command of the army of Moldavia, gained two brilliant victories over the Turks near the Pruth (July 18,) and the Kukuli (August 1,) which made him master of the Danube, and the towns of Ismael, Kilia, and Akerman, situated in Bessarabia, near the mouth of that river. Another Russian army, under the command of General Count Panin, attacked the fortress of Bender, defended by a strong Turkish garrison. It was carried by assault (Sept. 26,) and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword.

The Empress did not confine herself to repulsing the Turks

on the banks of the Dniester and the Danube, and harassing their commerce in the Black Sea. She formed the bold project of attacking them at the same time in the islands of the Archipelago, and on the coasts of Greece and the Morea. A Russian fleet, under the command of Alexis Orloff and Admiral Spiritoff, sailed from the Baltic, and passed the Northern Seas and the Straits of Gibraltar, on their way to the Archipelago. Being joined by the squadron of Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, they fought an obstinate battle with the fleet of the Capitan Pacha (July 5, 1770,) between Scio and Anatolia. The ships of the two commanders, Spiritoff and the Capitan Pacha, having met in the engagement, one of them caught fire, when both were blown into the air. Darkness separated the combatants; but the Turks having imprudently retired to the narrow bay of Chismé, the Russians pursued them, and burnt their whole fleet during the night. This disaster threw the city of Constantinople into great consternation; and the bad state of defence in which the Dardanelles were, gave them reason to fear, that if the Russians had known to take advantage of this panic, it would have been easy for them to have carried the Turkish capital. Rear-Admiral Elphinstone, who commanded one of the Russian squadrons, had suggested that advice; but the Russian Admirals did not think proper to follow it.

The war on the Danube was continued next year, though feebly; but the second Russian army, under the command of Prince Dolgoruki, succeeded in forcing the lines at Perekop, defended by an army of 60,000 Turks and Tartars, commanded by the Khan of the Crimea in person. Dolgoruki, after having surmounted the formidable barrier, made himself master of the Crimea, as also of the Island of Taman; and received from the Empress, as the reward of his exploits, the surname of *Krimski*. An act was signed by certain pretended deputies from the Tartars, by which that nation renounced the dominion of the Ottomans, and put themselves under the protection of Russia (1772.)

These conquests, however splendid they might be, could not fail to exhaust Russia. Obligated frequently to recruit her armies, which were constantly thinned by battles, fatigues, and diseases, she soon saw the necessity of making peace. The plague, that terrible ally of the Ottomans, passed from the army into the interior of the Empire, and penetrated as far as Moscow, where it cut off nearly 100,000 men in the course of a single year (1771.) What added still more to the embarrassments of Catherine II. was, that the Court of Vienna, which, in conjunction with that of Berlin, had undertaken to mediate

between Russia and the Porte, rejected with disdain the conditions of peace proposed by the Empress. Moreover, they strongly opposed the independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as of the Tartars; and would not even permit that the Russians should transfer the seat of war to the right bank of the Danube.

The Court of Vienna went even farther: it threatened to make common cause with the Turks, to compel the Empress to restore all her conquests, and to place matters between the Russians and the Turks on the footing of the treaty of Belgrade. An agreement to this effect was negotiated with the Porte, and signed at Constantinople (July 6, 1771.) This convention, however, was not ratified, the Court of Vienna having changed its mind on account of the famous dismemberment of Poland, concerted between it and the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. The Empress then consented to restore to the Turks the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the conclusion of the peace; and the Court of Vienna again engaged to exert its friendly interference in negotiating peace between Russia and the Porte.

In consequence of these events, the year 1772 was passed entirely in negotiations. A suspension of arms was agreed to between the two belligerent powers. A Congress was opened at Foczani in Moldavia, under the mediation of the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. This Congress was followed by another, which was held at Bucharest in Wallachia. Both of these meetings proved ineffectual, the Turks having considered the conditions proposed by Russia as inadmissible; and what displeased them still more was, the article relative to the independence of the Tartars in the Crimea. This they rejected as contrary to the principles of their religion, and as tending to establish a rivalry between the two Caliphs. They succeeded, however, in settling the nature of the religious dependence under which the Khans of the Crimea were to remain with regard to the Porte; but they could not possibly agree as to the surrender of the ports of Jenikaleh and Kerch; nor as to the unrestrained liberty of navigation in the Turkish seas, which the Russians demanded. After these conferences had been repeatedly broken off, hostilities commenced anew (1773.) The Russians twice attempted to establish themselves on the right bank of the Danube, but without being able to accomplish it; they even lost a great number of men in the different actions which they fought with the Turks.

The last campaign, that of 1774, was at length decisive. Abdul Hammed, who had just succeeded his brother Mustapha

III. on the throne of Constantinople, being eager to raise the glory of the Ottoman arms, made extraordinary preparations for this campaign. His troops, reckoned about 300,000 men, greatly surpassed the Russians in point of number; but they were not equal in point of discipline and military skill. About the end of June, Marshal Romanzow passed the Danube, without meeting any obstacle from the Ottoman army. That General took advantage of a mistake which the Grand Vizier had committed, in pitching his camp near Schumla at too great a distance from his detachments, and cut off his communication with these troops, and even with his military stores. The defeat of 28,000 Turks, who were bringing a convoy of four or five thousand wagons to the army, by General Kamenski, struck terror into the camp of the Grand Vizier, who, seeing his army on the point of disbanding, agreed to treat with Marshal Romanzow on such terms as that general thought fit to prescribe.

Peace was signed in the Russian camp at Kainargi, four leagues from Silistria. By that treaty, the Tartars of the Crimea, Boudziac, and Cuban, were declared entirely independent of the Porte, to be governed henceforth by their own sovereign. Russia obtained for her merchant vessels free and unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. She restored to the Turks Besarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; as well as the islands in the Archipelago which were still in her possession. But she reserved the city and territory of Azoff, the two Kabartas, the fortresses of Jenikaleh and Kerch in the Crimea, and the Castle of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite Oczakoff, with the neck of land between the Bog and the Dnieper, on which the Empress afterwards built a new city, called Cherson, to serve as an entrepôt for her commerce with the Levant. The foundation of this city was laid by General Hannibal (Oct. 19, 1778,) on the western bank of the Dnieper, fifteen versts from the confluence of the Inguletz with that river.

The House of Austria also reaped advantages from that war, by the occupation of Bukowina, which she obtained from Russia, who had conquered it from the Turks. This part of Moldavia, comprehending the districts of Suczawa and Czernowitz, was claimed by the Court of Vienna as one of its ancient territories in Transylvania, which has been usurped by the princes of Moldavia. The Porte, who was indebted to Austria for the restitution of this latter province, had no alternative but to abandon the districts claimed by Austria. Prince Ghikas of Moldavia, having opposed the cession of these provinces, was put to death by order of the Porte; and Bukowina was confirmed to Austria by subsequent conventions (1776, and 1777,)

which at the same time regulated the limits between the two States. The peace of Kainargi, though glorious for Russia, proved most calamitous for the Ottoman Porte. By establishing the independence of the Tartars, it lost the Turks one of their principal bulwarks against Russia; and they were indignant at seeing the Russians established on the Black Sea, and permitted unrestrained navigation in all the Turkish seas. Henceforth they had reason to tremble for the safety of their capital, which might be assailed with impunity, and its supplies intercepted, on the least disturbance that might arise between the two Empires.

The many disasters which the Turks had experienced in the war we have now mentioned, had a direct influence on the fate of Poland, which ended in the dismemberment of that kingdom. This event, which had been predicted by John Casimir in the seventeenth century, was brought about by the mediation of the Courts of Berlin and Vienna for the restoration of peace between Russia and Turkey. The conditions of that treaty, which were dictated by the Empress Catherine II., having displeased the Court of Vienna, which had moreover displayed hostile intentions against Russia, by despatching troops into Hungary, and taking possession of a part of Poland, which Austria claimed as anciently belonging to Hungary, the Empress took this occasion of observing to Prince Henry of Prussia, who then sojourned at her Court, that if Austria seemed inclined to dismember Poland, the other neighbouring powers were entitled to do the same. This overture was communicated by Prince Henry to his brother the King of Prussia, who resolved to act on this new idea. He foresaw it would be a proper means for indemnifying Russia, contenting Austria, and augmenting his own territories, by establishing a communication between the kingdom of Prussia, and his dutchy of Brandenburg. These considerations induced him to set on foot a negotiation with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. He gave the former to understand, that if war should break out between Austria and Russia, he could not but take part in it as the ally of the latter power; while he represented to the Empress of Russia, that if she would consent to restore Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, and indemnify herself by a part of Poland, she would avoid a new war, and facilitate an accommodation with the Porte. In this manner did he succeed, after a long and difficult negotiation, in recommending to the two Imperial courts, a project which was to give Europe the example of a kingdom dismembered on mere reasons of convenience. A preliminary agreement was drawn up, in which the equality of the respective portions of the three courts was

assumed as the basis of the intended partition. A negotiation was afterwards entered into at St. Petersburg, for regulating the portion to be given to the Court of Vienna; as the Empress and the King of Prussia, had already agreed about the divisions to which they thought they might lay claim.¹⁰

At length the formal conventions were signed at St. Petersburg, between the ministers of the three Courts (Aug. 5, 1772.) The boundaries of the territories and districts, which were to fall to the share of the three powers respectively, were there definitively settled and guaranteed to each other. They agreed to defer taking possession till the month of September following, and to act in concert for obtaining a final arrangement with the Republic of Poland. The Empress engaged by the same treaty to surrender Moldavia and Wallachia to the Turks, in order to expedite the restoration of peace between her and the Porte. In terms of that agreement, the declarations and letters-patent of the three Courts, were presented at Warsaw, in September 1772; and on taking possession of the territories and districts which had been assigned them, they published memorials for establishing the legitimacy of their rights over the countries which they claimed. The King of Poland and his ministry, in vain claimed the assistance and protection of the powers that guaranteed the treaties. They had no other alternative left, than to condescend to every thing which the three Courts demanded. A Diet which was summoned at Warsaw, appointed a delegation, taken from the Senate and the Equestrian order, to transact with the plenipotentiaries of the three powers, as to the arrangements of the different treaties by which the provinces already occupied were to be formally ceded to them on the part of the Republic. These arrangements were signed at Warsaw, September 18, 1773, and afterwards ratified by the Diet of Poland.

To Austria was assigned, in terms of her treaty with the Republic, the thirteen towns in the county of Zips, which Sigismund, King of Hungary, had mortgaged to Poland in 1412; besides nearly the half of the Palatinate of Cracow, part of Sandomire, Red Russia, the greater part of Belz, Pocutia, and part of Podolia. The towns in the county of Zips were again incorporated with Hungary, from which they had been dismembered; and all the rest were erected into a particular State, under the name of the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. One very important advantage in the Austrian division was, the rich salt mines in Wieliczka, and Bochnia, and Sambor, which furnished salt to the greater part of Poland.¹¹

Russia obtained for her share, Polish Livonia, the greater part of Witępsk and Polotsk, the whole Palatinate of Mscislaw

and the two extremities of the Palatinate of Minsk.¹² These the Empress formed into two grand governments, those of Polotsk and Mochilew. The King of Prussia had the states of Great Poland, situated beyond the Netze, as well as the whole of Polish Prussia, except the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, which were reserved to Poland.¹³ That republic, in virtue of a treaty with the King of Prussia, renounced also her rights of domaine, and the reversion which the treaties of Welau and Bidgost had secured to her with regard to Electoral Prussia, as well as the districts of Lauenburg, Butow, and Draheim. The portion of the King of Prussia was so much the more important in a political point of view, as it united the kingdom of Prussia with his possessions in Germany; and, by giving him the command of the Vistula, it made him master of the commerce of Poland; especially of the corn-trade, so valuable to the rest of Europe.

The three courts, in thus dismembering Poland, renounced, in the most formal manner, all farther pretensions on the republic; and, lastly, to consummate their work, they passed an act at Warsaw, by which they sanctioned the *liberum veto*, and the unanimity in their decisions formerly used at the Diet in state matters; the crown was declared elective, and foreign princes were to be excluded. The prerogative of the King, already very limited, was circumscribed still more by the establishment of a permanent council; and it was statuted, that no one could ever change this constitution, of which the three powers had become the guaranteees.

[This partition of Poland must be regarded as the harbinger of the total overthrow of the political system which for three hundred years had prevailed in Europe. After so many alliances had been formed, and so many wars undertaken, to preserve the weaker states against the ambition of the greater, we here find three powers of the first rank combining to dismember a state which had never given them the slightest umbrage. The barriers between legitimate right and arbitrary power were thus overthrown, and henceforth the destiny of inferior states was no longer secure. The system of political equilibrium became the jest of innovators, and many well disposed men began to regard it as a chimera. Though the chief blame of this transaction must fall on the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, those of London and Paris were accomplices to the crime, by allowing this spoliation to be consummated without any mark of their reprobation.]

In Sweden, the aristocratic system had prevailed since the changes which had been introduced into the form of government by the revolution of 1720. The chief power resided in the body

of the Senate, and the royal authority was reduced to a mere shadow. The same factions, the Hats and the Bonnets, of which we have spoken above, continued to agitate and distract the state. The Hats were of opinion, that to raise the glory of Sweden, and to recover the provinces of Livonia and Finland, it was necessary to cultivate friendship with France and the Porte, in order to secure their support in case of a rupture with Russia. The Bonnets, on the other hand, maintained that Sweden, exhausted by the preceding wars, ought to engage in no undertaking against Russia. In preferring a system of pacification, they had no other object in view than to maintain peace and good understanding with all states, without distinction. These two factions, instigated by foreign gold, acquired a new importance when the war broke out between Russia and the Porte. It was in the Diet of 1769 that the Hats found means to get possession of the government, by depriving the members of the opposite party of their principal employments. There was some reason to believe that France, in consequence of her connexions with the Porte, had used every effort to stir up Sweden against Russia, and that the mission of Vergennes, who passed from Constantinople to Stockholm, had no other object than this. Russia had then to make every exertion to raise the credit and influence of the Bonnets, in order to maintain peace with Sweden. In these endeavours, she was assisted by the Court of London, who were not only willing to support the interests of Russia, but glad of the opportunity to thwart France in her political career.

The death of Adolphus Frederic, which happened in the meantime, opened a new field for intrigue in the Diet, which was summoned on account of the accession of his son and successor Gustavus III. (Feb. 12, 1771.) This young prince at first interposed between the two parties, with a view to conciliate them; but with so little success, that it rather increased their animosity, until the Bonnets, who were supported by Russia and England, went so far as to resolve on the total expulsion of the Hats, not only from the senate, but from all other places and dignities in the kingdom. Licentiousness then became extreme; and circumscribed as the royal power already was in the time of Adolphus Frederic, they demanded new restrictions to be imposed on his successor. The treaties that were projected with Russia and England, were evidently the result of the system adopted by that faction who had now seized the reins of government.

In this state of affairs, the young king saw the necessity of attempting some change in the system of administration. His gentleness and eloquence, and his affable and popular manners,

had gained him a number of partisans. He possessed in an eminent degree the art of dissimulation; and while he was making every arrangement for a revolution, and concerting measures in secret with the French ambassador, he seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to convince the world of his sincere attachment to the established constitution. It is alleged, that he had sent emissaries over the whole kingdom to stir up the people against their governors; and that he might have some pretext for calling out his troops, he induced Captain Hellichius, the commandant of Christianstadt in Blekingen, to raise the standard of revolt against the states who still continued their sittings at Stockholm.

That officer, known afterwards by the name of *Gustafskeld*, or the *Shield of Gustavus*, published at first a kind of manifesto, in which he reproached the States for their misconduct; which he showed to have been diametrically opposite to the public interest and the laws of the kingdom. Prince Charles, the King's brother, who was at that time at Landscrona in Schonen, being informed of the proceedings of the commandant of Christianstadt, immediately assembled the troops in the provinces, and marched to that place, with the intention, as is said, of stifling the revolt in its birth. The news of this insurrection spread consternation in the capital. The States were suspicious of the King, and took measures to prevent the ambitious designs which they supposed him to entertain. Hellichius was proclaimed a rebel by the Senate, and guilty of high treason. They advised the King not to quit Stockholm, the command of which was intrusted to a senator, the Count of Kalling, with the most ample powers. At length the regiment of Upland, whose officers were devoted to the Senate, were ordered to the capital, with the intention, as is supposed, of arresting the King. That prince then saw that he had no longer time to delay, and that he must finish the execution of the plan which he had proposed.

On the morning of the 19th of August, the King presented himself to the troops who mounted guard at the palace; and having assembled the officers, he detailed to them the unfortunate state of the kingdom, as being the consequence of those dissensions which had distracted the Diet for more than fourteen months. He pointed out to them the necessity of abolishing that haughty aristocracy who had ruined the state, and to restore the constitution to what it was before the revolution of 1680; expressing at the same time his decided aversion for absolute and despotic power. Being assured of the fidelity of the guards, who were eager to take the oath of allegiance to him, he ordered a detachment to surround the Council Chamber where the Se-

nators were assembled, and put the leaders of the ruling party under arrest. The artillery and other regiments of guards having also acknowledged his authority, their example was soon followed by all the *colleges* (or public offices,) both civil and military. The arrest against Hellichius was revoked, and the regiment of Upland received orders to march back. These measures and some others were executed with so much skill and punctuality, that the public tranquillity was never disturbed; and by five o'clock in the evening of the same day, the revolution seemed to be accomplished without shedding a single drop of blood. Next day, the magistrates of the city took the oath to the King, and the assembly of the States was summoned to meet on the 21st. On that day the King caused the palace to be surrounded by troops, and cannons to be pointed into the court opposite the Chamber of the States. Seated on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, the King opened the assembly by an energetic discourse which he addressed to the members, in which he painted, in lively colours, the deplorable state of the kingdom, and the indispensable necessity of applying some prompt remedy. The new form of government which he had prepared was read by his orders, and adopted without opposition by the whole four orders of the kingdom. The king then drew a psalm-book from his pocket, and taking off his crown, began to sing *Te Deum*, in which he was joined by the whole assembly. Matters passed in the interior of the provinces with as little tumult and opposition as in the capital and principal cities. The King's brothers received, in his name, the oath of fidelity on the part of the inhabitants and the military.

In virtue of this new form of government, all the fundamental laws introduced since 1680 were cancelled and abolished. The succession to the throne was restricted to males only. The lineal order, and the right of primogeniture, as settled by the convention of 1743, and by the decree of the Diet of 1750, were confirmed. The King was to govern alone, according to the laws; and the Senate were to be considered as his counsellors. All the senators were to be nominated by the King, and matters were no longer to be decided by a plurality of votes. The senators were simply to give their advice, and the decision belonged to the King. Courts of justice, however, were excepted. The chief command of all the forces in the kingdom, both by sea and land, and the supreme direction of the Exchequer, were conferred on the King. On the report of the senate, he filled up all the high offices in the state, both military, civil, and ecclesiastical. He alone had the right of pardoning, and of summoning the States, who could never assemble on their

own authority, except in a case where the throne became vacant, by the total extinction of the royal family in the male line. The duration of the Diets was fixed for three months, and the King had the privilege of dissolving them at the end of that time. He could make no new laws, nor interpret the old ones, nor impose subsidies or assessments, nor declare war, without the advice and consent of the States. He was allowed, however, to levy an extraordinary tax, in cases where the kingdom might be attacked by sudden invasion; but on the termination of the war, the States were to be assembled, and the new tax discontinued. All negotiations for peace, truces, and alliances, whether offensive or defensive, were reserved to the King, by whom they were to be referred to the Senate. If, in these cases, the unanimous voice of the Senate was opposed to that of the King, it became his duty to acquiesce in their opinion. Every Swedish citizen was to be judged by his natural judge. The King could attain neither the life, honour, nor fortune of any citizen, otherwise than by the legal forms. All extraordinary commissions or tribunals were to be suppressed, as tending to establish tyranny and despotism.

The revolution of Stockholm, of which we have just now spoken, had nothing in common with that which happened at Copenhagen the same year; and which, without in any way affecting the constitution of the kingdom, merely transferred the reins of government from the hands of the reigning Queen to those of the Queen-dowager.¹⁴

In a remote corner of Europe, there existed an association of warriors, of a kind quite peculiar, namely, that of the Zaparog Cossacs; so called because they dwelt near the cataracts of the Dnieper, where they served as a military frontier, first to the Poles, and afterwards to the Russians. The chief residence of these Cossacs was called Setscha. It contained a considerable mass of houses, scattered and badly constructed, and had a small fort occupied by a Russian garrison. The position of Setscha had not always been the same; but it was ultimately fixed on the western bank of the Borysthenes, opposite Kamenoi-Saton, an ancient fortress of the Russians, and was called New Setscha. These Cossacs, known in Poland by the name of *Haydamacs*, and formidable by their incursions and their devastations, had adopted a republican form of government. The capital was divided into thirty *Kurenes*, or quarters. Every Cossac belonged to one of these Kurenes. There he lodged when he stayed at Setscha, and was obliged to conform to its laws. All those who belonged to the same Kurene, formed as it were one and the same family. Like the ancient Spartans,

they were nourished with the same food, and ate at the same table. The overseer of each separate Kurene was called *Ataman*, and the chief of all the Kurenes *Koschewoi-Ataman*. All the chiefs, without distinction, were elected by common consent; the Ataman by his own Kurene, and the Koschewoi by the whole Kurenes united. They were deposed whenever they became unpopular. The assemblies of Setscha were either ordinary or extraordinary. In that which was regularly held every year on the 1st of January, they made a formal division of the fields, rivers, and lakes, among the Kurenes. They made use of lots in order to avoid disputes; and they renewed them every year, that a favourable chance might be given to all the Kurenes in succession. At that assembly they elected new chiefs, if they happened to be discontented with the old ones. As for the extraordinary assemblies, they were held when it was in agitation to undertake a campaign, or to make an excursion; and generally on all occasions when the common interest seemed to require it. They had a judge and some other officers in Setscha. The judge never pronounced sentence except in affairs of little importance. Those which appeared more weighty required the intervention of all the chiefs. They would suffer no woman to remain in Setscha. Those who were inclined to marry were obliged to remove elsewhere. To keep up their numbers the Zaporogs received deserters and fugitives from all nations. They were particularly careful to recruit their ranks with young boys, whom they kidnapped in their excursions; and brought them up according to their customs and manner of living.

The treaty of Andrussov between Russia and Poland had left these Cossacs under the common protection of those two States. They preferred that of Russia, and were continued under the dominion of that power by the peace of Moscow. Being afterwards implicated in the revolt of Mazeppa, they put themselves under the protection of the Tartars of the Crimea after the battle of Pultowa, and transferred their capital of Setscha to the eastern bank of the Dnieper, nearer its mouth. Being discontented under the Tartars, who repressed their incursions, and often imposed exactions on Setscha, they took the resolution of putting themselves once more under the dominion of Russia (1733.) The Empress Anne confirmed them in their privileges, and furnished money to assist them in rebuilding their capital on the western bank of the Dnieper.

As they continued, however, to commit robbery and plunder on the frontiers without intermission, and having neither friends nor allies, Catherine II. resolved to annihilate this fantastic association. Besides their depredations, the Zaporogs were ac-

cused of having usurped possession of several countries between the Dnieper and the Bog; as well as of several districts which had at all times belonged to the Cossacs of the Don. What more particularly exasperated the Empress against them, was, that being so obstinately attached to their absurd form of government, they opposed every scheme of reform, the object of which was to make them live in regular society, and in the bonds of matrimony; or to induce them to form themselves into regiments, after the manner of the other Cossacs. They had also refused to send their deputies to Moscow, at the time when Catherine had sent for them from all parts of the Empire, for the formation of a new code of laws; and there was some reason to fear they might attempt to revolt, on account of the changes which the Empress proposed to make in the administration of the government. These and other considerations induced that princess to despatch a body of troops against Setscha (1775.) The Zaparogs, attacked unawares, and inclosed on all hands, saw themselves without the means of making the least resistance. Their capital was destroyed, and their whole tribe dispersed. Those who were not inclined to embrace another kind of life, were sent back to their native towns and their respective countries.

The succession of Bavaria reverted of right to the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore, as head of the elder branch of Wittelsbach. That prince had on his side, the Feudal Law of Germany, the Golden Bull, the peace of Westphalia, and family compacts frequently renewed between the two branches of that house; all Europe was persuaded that, should the case so turn out, the rights of the Elector Palatine would be beyond all controversy. Meantime, the Elector Maximilian had scarcely closed his eyes, when several pretenders appeared on the field, to dispute the succession as his presumptive heirs. The Emperor Joseph II. claimed all the fiefs of the Empire, which his predecessors had conferred on the house of Bavaria, without expressly including the princes of the Palatine branch in these investitures. The Empress, Maria Theresa, besides the fiefs of the Upper Palatinate holding of the crown of Bohemia, demanded all the countries and districts of Lower and Upper Bavaria, as well as of the Upper Palatinate, which had been possessed by the Princes of Bavaria-Straubingen, who had become extinct in 1425. She also alleged a pretended investiture, which the Emperor Sigismund had granted, in 1426, to his son-in-law Duke Albert of Austria. The Electress-Dowager of Saxony, sister to the last Elector of Bavaria, thought herself entitled to claim the allodial succession, which she made out to be very extensive.

Lastly, the Dukes of Mecklenburg brought forward an ancient deed of reversion, which their ancestors had obtained from the Emperors, over the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg.

Before these different claims could be made known, the Austrian troops had entered Bavaria, immediately after the death of the late Elector, and taken possession of all the countries and districts claimed by the Emperor and the Empress-Queen. The Elector Palatine, intimidated by the Cabinet of Vienna, acknowledged the lawfulness of all the claims of that court, by a convention which was signed at Vienna (Jan. 3, 1778,) but which the Duke of Deux-Ponts, his successor and heir presumptive, refused to ratify. That prince was supported in his opposition by the King of Prussia, who treated the pretensions of Austria as chimerical, and as being incompatible with the security of the constitution of the Germanic body. The King interposed in this affair, as being a guarantee for the peace of Westphalia, and a friend and ally of the parties concerned, who all claimed his protection. He demanded of the Court of Vienna, that they should withdraw their troops from Bavaria, and restore to the Elector the territories of which they had deprived him. A negotiation on this subject was opened between the two courts, and numerous controversial writings were published; but the proposals of the King of Prussia not proving agreeable to the court of Vienna, the conferences were broken off about the end of June 1778, and both parties began to make preparations for war.

It was about the beginning of July when the King of Prussia entered Bohemia, through the county of Glatz, and pitched his camp between Jaromitz and Konigratz, opposite that of the Emperor and Marshal Daun, from which he was only separated by the Elbe. Another army, composed of Prussians and Saxons, and commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia, penetrated into Bohemia through Lusatia; but they were stopped in their march by Marshal Laudohn, who had taken up a very advantageous position, and defeated all the measures of the Prince of Prussia. At length a third Prussian army marched into Austria and Silesia, and occupied the greater part of that province. Europe had never seen armies more numerous and better disciplined, and commanded by such experienced generals, approach each other so nearly without some memorable action taking place. The Emperor and his generals had the good sense to act on the defensive; while the efforts of the King of Prussia, to bring him to a general engagement, proved altogether unavailing. This prince, who had lost a great many men by sickness and desertion, was compelled to evacuate Bohemia about the end of October, and his example was soon followed by his brother Prince

Henry. At the beginning of this first campaign, the Empress-Queen being desirous of peace, had sent Baron Thugut to the King of Prussia, to offer him new proposals. A conference was agreed to take place at the convent of Braunau (Aug. 1778,) which had no better success than the preceding, on account of the belligerous disposition of the Emperor, who was for continuing the war. At length the return of peace was brought about by the powerful intervention of the courts of Versailles and St. Petersburg.

France, who was obliged, by the terms of her alliance with Austria, to furnish supplies for the Empress-Queen, could not in the present case reconcile this engagement with the interests of her crown, nor with the obligations which the treaty of Westphalia had imposed upon her, with respect to the Germanic body. Besides, the war which had broken out between her and England, on account of her alliance with the United States of America, made her anxious for the restoration of peace on the Continent, for avoiding every thing which might occasion a diversion of her maritime forces. The Empress of Russia, who thought her glory interested, could not remain a quiet spectator of a struggle which, if prolonged, might set all Europe in a flame. She declared to the Court of Vienna, that in consequence of the ties of friendship and alliance which subsisted between her and the Court of Berlin, she would find herself called on to join her troops to those of Prussia, if the war was to be continued. But, before coming to that extremity, she would interpose her good offices, conjointly with France, to bring existing differences to an amicable conclusion.

The mediation of these two courts having been accepted by the belligerent powers, a congress was summoned at Teschen, in Silesia, which was opened in the month of March 1779. The Empress of Russia, to give the greater weight to her interference, despatched a body of troops to the frontiers, destined to act as auxiliaries under the King of Prussia, in case the war should happen to be renewed. Prince Repnin, who commanded that body, appeared, at the same time, in the capacity of ambassador-extraordinary at the Congress. France sent, on her part, Baron de Breteuil, her ambassador at the Court of Vienna. All things being already prepared, and the principal difficulties removed, the peace was concluded in less than two months. By this treaty, the convention of the 3d of January, made between the Court of Vienna and the Elector Palatine, was annulled. Austria was required to give up all her possessions in Bavaria, except the places and districts situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, which were ceded to her as all she could claim of the

succession of Bavaria, which she had renounced in the most formal manner. The fiefs of the Empire, which had been conferred on the House of Bavaria, were secured by that treaty to the Elector Palatine and his whole family; as well as those situated in the Upper Palatinate, and holding of the Crown of Bohemia.

The Elector Palatine engaged to pay the Elector of Saxony, for his allodial rights, the sum of six millions of florins, money of the Empire; while the Empress-Queen gave up to the said prince the rights which the crown of Bohemia had over certain seigniories lying within Saxony, and possessed by the Counts of Schonburg. The Palatine branch of Birkenfeldt, whose right of succession to the Palatine estates had been disputed, on the ground of their being the issue of an unequal marriage, were now declared capable of succeeding to all the estates and possessions of the House of Wittlesbach, as comprehended in the family compacts of that house.

The existing treaties between the Court of Vienna and the King of Prussia, and also those of Westphalia, Breslau, Berlin, and Dresden, were renewed and confirmed; and a formal acknowledgment made to the royal line of Prussia, of their right to unite the margraviates of Baireuth and Anspach, failing the present possessors, to the hereditary succession of the Electorate of Brandenburg; which right the House of Austria had called in question during the dispute which we have already mentioned. As for the House of Mecklenburg, they granted to it the privilege of the *non appellando*, in virtue of which, no one could carry an appeal from the tribunals of that country to the sovereign courts of the Empire. The two mediating powers undertook to guarantee this treaty. Thus the war for the succession of Bavaria was checked at its commencement. The following peculiarities are worthy of remark, viz. that the Palatine family, who were the party chiefly interested, took no share in it; while Bavaria, the sole cause of the war, was no way engaged in it, and the Elector Palatine, who had even refused the assistance of the King of Prussia, was, nevertheless, the party chiefly benefited by the peace, by means of the protection of that prince.

The House of Austria having failed, as we have just seen, in her project of conquering Bavaria, tried, in the next place, to get possession of that country by way of exchange for the Netherlands. The Elector Palatine appeared willing to meet the views of the Court of Vienna; but it was not so with the Duke of Deux-Ponts, who haughtily opposed the exchange; while the King of Prussia, who supported it, was obliged to acknowledge that such an exchange was inadmissible, and in opposition both to former treaties, and to the best interests of the Germanic body

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The Court of Vienna then abandoned this project, at least in appearance ; but the alarm which it had caused throughout the Empire, gave rise to an association, known by the name of the Germanic Confederation. It was concluded at Berlin (July 23, 1785,) between the three Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick-Luneburg ; besides several provinces of the Imperial State who adhered to it. This association, purely defensive, had no other object than the preservation of the Germanic System, with the rights and possessions of all its members.

The Revolution in North America, deserves to be placed among the number of those great events which belong to the general history of Europe. Besides the sanguinary war which it kindled between France and England, and in which Spain and Holland were also implicated, it may be regarded as the harbinger of those revolutions which took place soon after in several of the Continental States of Europe. The English colonies in North America were no otherwise connected with the mother country, than by a government purely civil, by a similarity of manners, and by customs, which long usage had rendered sacred. They were divided into provinces, each of which had its particular constitution more or less analogous to that of England, but imperfectly united with the mother country, because the inhabitants of these provinces were not represented in the national Parliament. If they had been so, Great Britain would certainly never have enjoyed that monopoly which she had reserved to herself, agreeably to the colonial system of all modern nations. The exclusive privilege of sending her commodities to the Americans, by fettering their industry, alienated their affections from England, and made them naturally desirous of shaking off her yoke ; and this propensity could not fail to increase, in proportion as these colonies increased in strength, population, and wealth.

One consideration, however, likely to secure their allegiance, was the protection which England granted them against their powerful neighbours the French in Canada, the Spaniards in Florida, and the Barbarians in the West. The Canadians, especially, proved daring and troublesome neighbours to New England, which rendered the assistance and protection of the mother country indispensable. The aspect of affairs changed at the time of the peace of Paris (1763.) England, by getting possession of Canada and Florida, broke the main tie which attached the colonies to her government. Delivered then from the terror of the French, and having no more need of foreign succour to protect them from their attacks, the Americans began to concert measures for extricating themselves from the dominion of Britain.

The first disturbances that broke out were occasioned by the attempts which the British Parliament had made to impose taxes on the Americans. The national debt of England having increased considerably during the preceding war, the Parliament thought they had a right to oblige the colonies to furnish their quota for the liquidation of that debt, which had been contracted, in part, for the interests of America. The Parliament passed an act, according to which all contracts in the American colonies were to be drawn upon stamped paper; and the tax on the stamp was regulated according to the different objects of the contract. When this act had passed into a law, and was about to be carried into effect in America, it caused a general insurrection. The people committed all sorts of excesses and abuses against the King's officers. The Courts of Justice were shut up, and the colonies began to form associations among themselves. They disputed the right of the British Parliament to impose taxes on them; alleging that they were not represented there, and that it was the constitutional privilege of every Englishman, not to be taxed except by means of his own representatives. The colonies having thus attacked the sovereignty and legislative power of the Parliament, laid an interdict on all commerce with the mother country, and forbade the purchase of commodities imported from Great Britain.

The Parliament rescinded the Stamp act. They published, however, a declaratory act which set forth, that the colonies were subordinate to, and dependent on, the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, in whom resided full power and authority to make laws and statutes binding on the colonies, in all possible cases. The provincial assemblies of the colonists were enjoined, by that act, to receive into their towns whatever number of British troops the mother country might think proper to send, and to furnish them with wood and beer. Far from allaying these disturbances, this new act tended, on the contrary, to exasperate them still more. The Americans considered it as tyrannical, and as having no other design than to destroy the foundation of their liberty, and to establish an absolute and despotic power.

The British ministry made still farther concessions. They abandoned altogether the idea of a tax to be levied in the interior of the country, and limited themselves entirely to taxes or duties on imported goods. The Stamp act was replaced by another (1767,) which imposed certain duties on tea, paper, lead, and paint-colours, &c. &c. exported from England into the colonies. This act was no better received than its predecessor. The Assembly of Massachusetts, which was formed at Boston,

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Earthquake at Lisbon. Vol. 2, p. 86



Engagement of the Russian and Turkish Fleets off Scio
1770. Vol. 2, p. 104.

addressed circular letters to all the colonies, exhorting them to act in concert for the support of their rights against the mother country. The resolutions which some of the colonies had already adopted, of prohibiting the use of commodities manufactured in Great Britain, became common to all the colonies; and the American merchants in general, countermanded the goods which they had ordered from England, Scotland, and Ireland. The spirit of revolt thus extending wider and wider, the British government determined to employ troops for the restoration of order and tranquillity in the colonies, and making them respect the sovereignty of Great Britain (1769.)

Affairs were in this situation when Lord North, who had been placed at the head of the administration, succeeded in calming the minds of the colonists, by passing an act which abolished the obnoxious taxes, with the single exception of that on tea. The view of the minister in retaining this tax, was not of reaping any advantage from it; but he hoped by this trifling duty to accustom the colonies to support greater taxes. The Americans were very sensible of this; however, as they imported very little tea from England, and as the Dutch furnished them with this article by way of contraband, they showed no symptoms of resentment until the year 1773. At that time, the Parliament having given permission to the East India Company to export tea to America, of which they had large supplies in their warehouses, the Americans, indignant to see this Company made the organ of a law which was odious to them, resolved to oppose the landing of these tea cargoes. Three of the Company's vessels, freighted with this article, having arrived at Boston, and preparing to unload, the inhabitants boarded them during the night of the 21st of December, and threw all the chests into the sea, to the number of 342. In the other provinces, they only sent back the ships loaded with this obnoxious commodity.

On the news of this outrage, the British Parliament thought it necessary to adopt rigorous measures. Three acts were passed in succession (1774,) the first to lay the port of Boston under interdict; the second to abolish the constitution and democratic government of Massachusetts, and substitute a royal government; and the third to authorize the colonial governors to transport to England the Americans who were accused of rebellion, to be tried at the Court of King's Bench. General Gage was sent to Boston with a body of troops and several vessels to carry these coercive measures into effect. By thus adopting decisive measures, the British Parliament in vain flattered themselves, that they could reduce, by force, a continent so vast, and so remote from the mother country, as that of America. Supposing even

that they could have succeeded, the spirit and nature of the English government would never have permitted them to maintain their conquests by force. The colonies, however, far from being intimidated by these acts, warmly espoused the cause of the province which had been singled out for punishment.

A general Congress, composed of the representatives of all the colonies, was opened at Philadelphia (Sept. 5, 1774.) They declared the acts of the British Parliament against Massachusetts, to be unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional. They agreed never more to import articles of commerce from Great Britain; and to present an address to the King, and a petition to the House of Commons, for the redress of those grievances of which the colonies had to complain. This latter step having produced no effect, and the Parliament having still persisted in their rigorous measures, hostilities commenced in the month of April 1775. The American Congress then conferred the command of their army on George Washington, a rich planter in Virginia, who had acquired considerable military reputation by his success in opposing the French in Canada; and at the same time, to raise the immediate supplies of which the colonies stood in need, the Congress agreed to issue paper money, sufficient to meet the unavoidable expenses of the war. A declaration, published in the month of July, 1775, explained the reasons which had compelled the Americans to take up arms; and announced their intention not to separate from Great Britain, nor adopt a system of absolute independence. But as the British Ministry had made extraordinary efforts for the campaign of 1776, and taken a body of German troops into their pay, the Americans thought proper to break off all alliance with England, that they might have recourse in their turn to the protection of foreigners.

The independence of the Colonies was therefore formally declared by an Act of Congress (July 4, 1776.) They then drew up articles of confederation and perpetual union among the States of America, to the number of thirteen provinces, under the title of the *United States of America*. In virtue of this union, each of the States remained master of its own legislative and internal administration, while the Congress, which was composed of deputies from all the colonies, had the power of regulating all political affairs; that is to say, every thing concerning war or peace, alliances, money matters, weights and measures, posts, &c.; as well as the settlement of any differences which might arise between two or more of the confederate States. The first favourable action for the Americans, in their war against England, was that at Trenton on the Delaware, (Dec. 25, 1776,) where General Washington surprised a body of Hessians and

English, and made them prisoners. But the event which in some degree set the seal to the independence of America, was the important check which General Burgoyne met with near Saratoga. Having advanced from Canada to support the operations of General Howe, who was marching on Philadelphia, he was compelled by the American troops under General Gates to lay down his arms, by a capitulation which was signed in the camp at Saratoga (Oct. 16, 1777.) The news of this disaster was no sooner received in Europe, than France, who, during the time that England was occupied with the disturbances in America, had put her marine on a respectable footing, took the resolution of acknowledging the New Republic, and entered into a formal alliance with it. Treaties of friendship, alliance, and commerce, were concluded at Paris between them and the United States of America (Feb. 6, 1778.) France demanded as a primary condition, that the United States should not lay down their arms, until England had acknowledged their independence. The notification which the Court of France made to that of London of this treaty with the United States, became the signal of war between these two nations.

This war which France had undertaken against England for the free navigation of the seas, was the first which did not involve the continent of Europe, as it was confined entirely to maritime operations. The European powers, far from thwarting France in this enterprise, applauded her success; and while Great Britain depended on her own strength, and had not a single ally on the Continent, France contrived to interest Spain and Holland in her cause.

Spain, after having for some time held the rank of a mediating power, entered into the war in fulfilment of those engagements which she had contracted, by the Family Compact; and as respected Holland, England had determined to break with her. The British ministry were offended at that Republic, which, instead of granting England the supplies that she was entitled to claim in virtue of former treaties, had lent itself an accomplice to the interests of her enemies. The Dutch, on their side, complained of the multiplied vexations with which they were incessantly harassed by the British privateers. They had sought to protect themselves against these, under the shield of that armed neutrality which the Empress of Russia had just negotiated for protecting the commerce of neutral States; and it was in order to prevent their accession to that neutrality, that England made such haste to declare war against the Republic (Dec. 20, 1780.)

Without entering here into the details of that war, the prin-

cipal scene of which was in America, though it extended to Africa and the Indies, we shall confine ourselves to a few general observations.

When hostilities commenced between France and England, the latter had a very great superiority in maritime strength. She had armies at the two extremities of the globe. The number of her vessels was prodigious. Her arsenals were overloaded with stores. Her dock-yards were in the greatest activity; but after France and Spain had united their naval force, it was no longer possible for Great Britain, obliged as she was to divide her strength, to defend her distant possessions against the numerous attacks of the French and their allies. Not fewer than twenty-one engagements took place between the belligerent powers; in all of which England, from the experience of her Admirals, and the ability of her naval officers, did not lose a single ship of the line. The first naval action was fought near Ushant (July 27, 1778,) between D'Orvilliers and Admiral Keppel. This action, the glory of which was claimed equally by both nations, was as indecisive as most of those which followed it. The only decisive action, properly speaking, was that which Admiral Rodney fought with Count de Grasse (April 12, 1782,) between the islands of Dominica and Saintes. The English Admiral having broken the French line, succeeded in taking five ships of the line, including the Admiral's, and had the honour to carry him prisoner to London.

At the beginning of the war, the English stripped the French of their possessions in the East Indies, such as Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and Mahe. They took from them the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, as well as that of St. Lucia, and Gorea on the coast of Africa. The French afterwards repaid themselves for these losses, by conquering the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Christophers, Nevis and Monteserrat. All the forts and establishments of the English on the Senegal in Africa, as well as Gondelore in the East Indies, fell into their possession.

The Spaniards made themselves masters of the forts which the English occupied on the Mississippi. They took fort Mobile or Condé, in ancient French Louisiana, and subdued the whole of Western Florida, with the town of Pensacola. In Europe they recovered, with the assistance of the French, the island of Minorca, with port Mahon and fort St. Philip; but the combined forces of the two nations failed in their enterprise against Gibraltar. This place, which was bravely defended by General Elliot, was twice relieved with supplies by the English fleet—first by Admiral Rodney (1780,) and afterwards by Lord

Howe (1782.) The floating batteries invented by M. D'Arçon, which were directed against the garrison, were destroyed by the red-hot bullets which the English commander showered upon them in great profusion. It was chiefly this obstinate determination of the Spaniards to recover the rock of Gibraltar, that for a long time deprived France and Spain of the advantages which ought to have accrued to them from the combination of their naval strength against Great Britain. As for the Dutch, they experienced heavy losses in this war; their islands of St. Eustatia, Saba, and St. Martin in the Antilles, were seized by the English, who carried off immense booty. Besides their establishments of Demarara and Essequibo in Guiana, those which they had on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, especially Negapatam and Trincomalee, on the coasts of Ceylon, were reduced in succession. The French succeeded, however, in reconquering the Dutch Antilles, and the fortress of Trincomalee.

In North America, the success of the war was for a long time equally balanced between the English and the Americans. At length Lord Cornwallis, after having conquered the two Carolinas, advanced into Virginia. He took York Town and Gloucester; but having penetrated into the interior of that province, Generals Washington, Rochambaud, and La Fayette, turned their forces against him, and were supported in this attack by a French fleet, which the Count de Grasse had brought to their aid. Lord Cornwallis, surrounded on all sides, and shut up in York Town, was obliged to capitulate (Oct. 19, 1781,) and surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners of war. This event decided the fate of America. The news of it no sooner arrived in England, than a change took place in the British ministry. Lord North and his colleagues resigned, and were replaced by the members of the opposite party. The new ministry attempted to negotiate a special peace, either with the Americans or with the Dutch; but their efforts having proved unsuccessful, they adopted the alternative of recognising the independence of America, and then entered into a negotiation with France. A conference was opened at Paris, under the mediation of Joseph II. and the Empress of Russia. It continued from the month of October 1782, till September 1783, when definitive treaties of peace were signed at Paris and Versailles between Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States of America. The conclusion of the treaty between England and Holland did not take place till the 20th May 1784.

In virtue of these treaties, the independence of the Thirteen United States of America was acknowledged by England; and the boundaries of the respective possessions of the two powers

were regulated over the whole extent of North America. A territory of vast extent was assigned to the United States, who also obtained the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and in all other places where fishing had till then been practised.

The French fisheries at Newfoundland, were settled in a manner more advantageous than by the former treaties. The Islands of St. Peter and Miquelon were ceded with full privileges to France. In the Antilles, France retained St. Lucia and Tobago, restoring to England Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa, the forts and settlements on the Senegal remained in the possession of France, and the island of Gorea was restored to her. In the East Indies, all the French settlements such as Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé, were restored, and England engaged to make some additions to Pondicherry. The clauses in the former treaties relative to Dunkirk were abolished. The island of Minorca in the Mediterranean, and the whole of Florida in America, were ceded to Spain, who restored to England the islands of Providence and Bahama; and moreover granted the English the liberty of cutting logwood or dyewood in certain places on the Bay of Honduras. Finally, Holland ceded Negapatam to England, and granted to British subjects a free trade in the Indian Seas, where the Dutch had till that time maintained an exclusive commerce and navigation.

Such is an outline of the treaties of Paris and Versailles, which terminated the American war. France thereby maintained the balance of maritime power against England, whose vast naval superiority had alarmed all the commercial States of Europe. [It is true that this advantage was of short duration, as the English recovered their superiority, and during the French Revolution, carried it to a pitch which it had never before reached; besides, their commerce suffered no check by the loss of their extensive colonies. The growing industry of the new Republic had more need than ever to be supported by all the capital and credit which the merchant could find in the mother country.] France acquired the glory of having contributed, by her efforts, to establish the new Republic of the United States, which, by the vast extent of its territory, the progressive increase of its population, its industry, and its commerce, must exercise, in course of time, a prodigious influence on the destinies of Europe.

One memorable event, which has some reference to the American war, was the confederacy of the Northern powers, under the title of the *Armed Neutrality*. That war, which was purely maritime, having given an astonishing alacrity to the commerce

of the North, by the demand which the belligerent powers made for wood for ship building and naval stores of all kinds, England, in order to prevent the French and Spaniards from procuring these commodities in the North, took advantage of her maritime superiority, by seizing, without distinction, all merchant vessels under a neutral flag; and confiscating all articles found on board, belonging to the subjects of hostile countries. The Empress of Russia, wishing to put a stop to these depredations, resolved to protect by force of arms, the commercial interests of her subjects. By a manifesto which she addressed to France and England (February 1780,) she informed these powers, that it was her intention to maintain free intercourse for all effects which might belong to the subjects of those nations at war; excepting only genuine warlike stores, such as powder, balls, and cannon, and in general, whatever might be reputed contraband goods; in virtue of the 10th and 11th articles of her commercial treaty with Great Britain (1766.) She did not rest satisfied with making this declaration herself. She engaged Sweden and Denmark to publish similar ones; and entered into a contract with those powers, for the purpose of protecting the navigation of their subjects by means of convoys, and for rendering each other mutual assistance in case of any insult offered to their merchantmen. The Court of Copenhagen declared more especially (Aug. 10, 1780,) that the Baltic, by its local situation, being a shut sea, no ships of war belonging to the belligerents could be admitted there, or allowed to commit hostilities against any one whomsoever. Several of the Continental powers, such as the King of Prussia, the Emperor Joseph II., the Queen of Portugal, and the King of the Two Sicilies, joined the Armed Neutrality, on the principles established in the declaration of the Empress of Russia. France and Spain applauded these measures, and the principles which the Empress had thus sanctioned. England dissembled, pretending to refer to treaties, and to wait a more favourable opportunity for explanation. But in order to prevent the Dutch from taking shelter under the armed neutrality, she declared war against that Republic, even before the act of her accession to these treaties had been ratified by the powers of the North.

New disputes had arisen between the Russians and the Turks after the peace of Kainargi. The haughtiness of the Porte was unwilling to admit the independence of the Tartars, which was sanctioned by that peace. He was indignant to see the Russians parading their flag even under the walls of Constantinople; and moreover, he tried every stratagem to elude the execution of those articles in the treaty which did not meet with his approba-

tion. Russia, on her part, who regarded the independence of the Crimea as a step towards the execution of her ambitious projects, expelled the Khan Dowlat Gueray, who was favourably inclined towards the Porte, and put Sahin Gueray in his place, who was devoted to the interests of Russia. This latter having been dispossessed by Selim Gueray, with the assistance of the Porte, the Empress marched a body of troops into the Crimea, under the command of Suwarow (1778,) and restored her protégé to the throne by force of arms.

The Turks made great preparations for war, and a new rupture between the two empires was expected, when, by the interposition of M. de St. Priest, the French ambassador to the Turkish Court, the Divan consented to an accommodation which was concluded at Constantinople (March 21, 1779,) under the name of the *Explicative Convention*. The independence of the Crimea, and the sovereignty of Sahin Gueray, were thereby acknowledged, and confirmed anew. Russia and the Porte engaged to withdraw their troops from that peninsula, as well as from the island of Taman. The Porte promised especially never to allege any pretexts of spiritual alliance, for interfering with the civil or political power of the Khans. The free intercourse between the Black Sea and the White Sea, was secured in the most express manner to all Russian vessels that were of the form, size, and capacity, of the ships of other nations who carried on trade in the ports of Turkey.

This convention did not restore any permanent good understanding between the two Empires; new troubles were not long in springing up again in the Crimea. The Khan Sahin Gueray was once more expelled by the party adhering to the Turks (1782.) A Russian army immediately entered that peninsula, and restored the fugitive Khan; while a Russian fleet sailing from the port of Azoff, cut off the malecontents from all communication with Constantinople. Under these circumstances, the Empress Catherine II. thought the moment had arrived for placing the Crimea among the number of her own provinces. She caused her troops to occupy that peninsula, as well as the whole of Cuban; and expelled the Turks from Taman, of which they had made themselves masters, with the view of opening a communication with the Tartars. Finally, she explained, in a manifesto, the motives which induced her to unite the Crimea to her Empire, together with the isle of Taman, and the Cuban, and required Sahin Gueray formally to resign the sovereignty which he had enjoyed for so short a time (June 28, 1783.)

That event was a terrible blow to the Ottoman Porte. The inhabitants of Constantinople loudly demanded war; but the

Divan, who were sensible of their weakness, used every endeavour to avoid it. The preparations of the Russians both by sea and land, were immense; and there subsisted a co-operation and a perfect intimacy between the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. England tried in vain to engage the Turks to take up arms, but they were withheld by France and Austria. Instead of fighting, they were resolved to negotiate; and a new treaty was signed at Constantinople (Jan. 8, 1784.) The sovereignty of the Crimea, the island of Taman, and all the part of Cuban which lay on the right bank of the river of that name, and formed, as it were, a frontier between the two Empires, were abandoned to Russia. The fortress of Oczakoff, to which the Tartars of the Crimea had some claims, was ceded to the Porte, with its whole territory. Thus ended the dominion of the Tartars in the Crimea, once so terrible to Russia. The Empress formed the whole of that vast country into two new governments, Taurida and the Caucasus.

There had existed for a long time certain disputes between the Dutch and the government of the Austrian Netherlands, as to the execution of the Barrier Treaty (1715,) and that of the Hague (1718.) They had neglected to define precisely the limits of Dutch Flanders, which these treaties had pointed out rather than determined; and for a long time the Imperial Court had ceased to pay the Dutch the subsidies which the Barrier Treaty had stipulated in their favour. That court would not consent to agree to a definitive settlement of these limits, or the payment of the subsidies, until England and Holland should co-operate with her in repairing the Barrier towns, whose fortifications had been ruined during the war of the Austrian Succession. She demanded, also, that these powers should unite for concluding a treaty of commerce, and a tariff favourable for the Low Countries, as they had engaged to do by former treaties. At length the Emperor Joseph II. thought he might avail himself of the war which had arisen between England and Holland, to free the Austrian Netherlands entirely from the claims which the Barrier Treaty had imposed on them. The order for demolishing all the fortified places in the Netherlands comprehended the Barrier towns; and the Dutch were summoned to withdraw their troops from them. These republicans, not being able to solicit the protection of England, with which they were at war, found themselves obliged to comply with the summons of the Emperor. Their troops then evacuated all the Barrier towns in succession.

This compliance on the part of the Dutch, encouraged the Emperor to extend his pretensions still farther. Not content

with annulling the treaties of 1715—18, he required that the boundaries of Flanders should be re-established on the footing of the contract of 1664, between Spain and the States-General; and instead of making his new demand a subject of negotiation, he took possession of the forts, as well as of the towns and districts included within the limits which had been fixed by this latter agreement. The Dutch having addressed their complaints to the Court of Vienna against these violent proceedings, the Emperor consented to open a conference at Brussels (1784,) for bringing all these disputes to an amicable termination. He declared, at the opening of the meeting, that he would desist from all the claims which he had against the Republic, provided they would grant the Belgic provinces the free passage and navigation of the Scheldt; with the privilege of direct commerce with India, from all the ports in the Netherlands. But while proposing this state of things as the subject of negotiation, he announced, that from that moment he was firmly resolved to consider the Scheldt as free; and that the least opposition, on the part of the States-General, would be, in his eyes, as the signal of hostilities, and a declaration of war. The Dutch, without being intimidated by these threats, declared the demand of the Emperor to be contrary to their treaties, and subversive of the safety and prosperity of their Republic. Vice-Admiral Reynst was ordered to station himself, with a squadron, at the mouth of the Scheldt, and to prevent all Imperial or Flemish ships from passing. Two merchantmen having attempted to force the passage, the Dutch gave them a broadside, and obliged them to strike.

The Emperor then regarded the war as declared, and broke off the conference at Brussels; he had, however, made no preparations; and the Low Countries were entirely divested of their troops, magazines, and warlike stores. The prince had flattered himself, that the Court of France would espouse his quarrel, and that he would obtain from them the supplies stipulated by the treaty of Versailles. But France, who was then negotiating a treaty of alliance with the Republic, easily foresaw, that if she abandoned them at that particular time, they would be obliged to throw themselves into the arms of England. M. de Maillebois then got orders to pass to Holland, while France set on foot two armies of observation, one in Flanders, and the other on the Rhine. The King wrote to the Emperor very pressing letters, wishing him to adopt pacific measures.

These proceedings and the numerous difficulties which the war of the Netherlands presented to the Emperor, induced him to accept the mediation of the Court of France; a negotiation on this subject was entered into at Versailles. The Emperor

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there persisted at first in maintaining the liberty of the Scheldt, but afterwards became less rigid on this point. He was content to enforce his other claims. This negotiation was as tedious as it was intricate. It occupied the French ministry during the greater part of the year 1785. The Emperor insisted much on the cession of Maestricht, and the territory of Outre-Meuse. From this demand he would not recede, except on the payment of a large sum of money by way of indemnity, and another in reparation of the damage which the inundation of Flanders, ordered by the States-General, had occasioned to his Austrian subjects. By the peace which was signed at Fontainebleau, the treaty of Munster (1648) was renewed; but nothing was said of the Barrier treaty, nor of that of Vienna (1731.) They agreed on shutting the Scheldt from Saftingen, as far as the sea; as well as the Canals of Saas, Swin, and other communications with the sea in the neighbourhood. The States-General engaged to pay the Emperor, in lieu of his claims on Maestricht and the Outre-Meuse, the sum of 9,500,000 Dutch florins; and another of 500,000 florins for repairing the damages done by the inundations. That Prince got ample satisfaction on the subject of most of his other claims; and France undertook to guarantee the treaty. Immediately after it was signed, they renewed the negotiation respecting the treaty of alliance projected between France and the Republic. This treaty was also signed at Fontainebleau (Nov. 10, 1785) two days after the treaty of peace.

Various intestine disturbances at that time agitated the Republic of the United Provinces. The animosity of the Republican party against the Stadtholder and his partisans, had been revived more keenly than ever, on account of the war in America between France and England. The Republicans reproached the Stadtholder for his devotedness to the interests of England, which had made him neglect their marine, and fail in the protection which he owed the Dutch commerce, in his capacity of Admiral-General of the forces of the Republic. The different magistrates of the municipal towns, in order to discredit the Stadtholder in the opinion of the public, encouraged periodical writers to inveigh against the person of William V. and his administration. They blamed his counsellors, and especially Louis Duke of Brunswick, who, as governor to the Stadtholder during his minority, had had the principal direction of affairs, and who still continued to aid him with his councils.

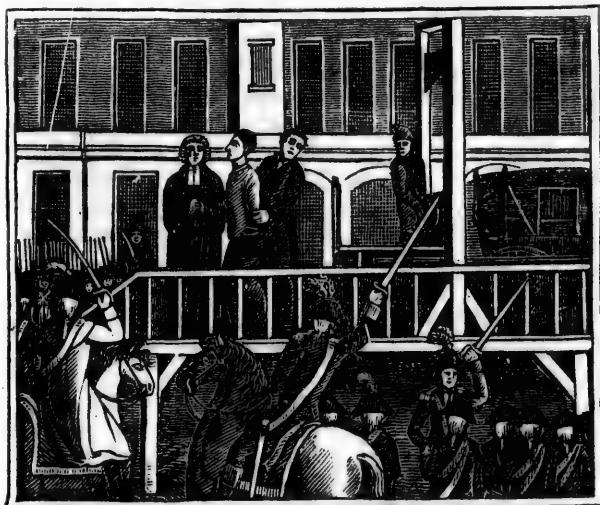
The city of Amsterdam, which had always been distinguished for its opposition to the Stadtholder, was the first that demanded the removal of the Duke, whom they blamed as the

cause of the languid state of their maritime power. That prince was compelled to resign, (1784,) and even to withdraw from the territories of the Republic. The retirement of the Duke emboldened the opponents of the Stadtholder, who soon went beyond all bounds. That party, purely aristocratic in its origin, had been afterwards reinforced by a multitude of democrats, who, not contented with humbling the Stadtholder, attacked even the power of the magistrates; and tried to change the constitution, by rendering the government more popular and democratic. In the principal towns, associations were formed under the name of *Free Bodies*, for exercising the citizens in the management of arms. The party opposed to the Stadtholder took the name of *Patriots*. They were secretly supported by France, who wished to employ them as an instrument for destroying the influence of England, and attaching the Republic to her own interests. A popular insurrection, which happened at the Hague (1785,) furnished the States of Holland with a pretext for removing the Stadtholder from the command of that place, which was intrusted to a Council. This blow, struck at a prerogative which was regarded as inherent in the Stadtholdership, induced the Prince of Orange to quit the Hague, and fix his residence in the province of Guelders, the States which were most particularly devoted to him. An attack which the prince made against the towns of Elburg and Hattem, for refusing to execute the orders which he had intimated to them in the name of the States of Guelders, exasperated the minds of the Dutch. It added to the strength of the Patriotic party, and encouraged the States of Holland to make a renewed attack on the Stadtholdership; and even to go so far as to suspend the prince from the functions of Captain-General of that province.

The Court of Berlin had taken measures, both with the States-General and the province of Holland, to facilitate an accommodation between the two parties. Frederic William II. who succeeded his uncle Frederic the Great, (1786,) sent to the Hague, with this view, the Count de Gortz, his minister of state; while M. Gerard de Rayneval was ordered to repair thither on the part of France. A negotiation was opened between these two ministers and the principal leaders of the Patriotic party, but without effect. Their animosities rather increased, and the Patriots broke out into every kind of violence. They dismissed the magistrates of the chief towns by force, and replaced them by their own adherents; a step which obliged the aristocrats to coalesce with the Stadtholder's party, in order to withstand the fury of the republicans. A civil war seemed to all appearance inevitable. In this state of matters, the Princess of



Destruction of the Bastille at Paris by the People.
Vol, 2, p. 145.



Execution of Louis XVI, of France. Vol. 2 p. 1.

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Orange took the resolution of repairing in person to the Hague, with the design, as she alleged, of endeavouring to restore peace. She was arrested on her route by a detachment of the republican corps of Gouda (June 28, 1787,) and conducted to Schœnhoven, whence she was obliged to return to Nimeguen, without being able to accomplish the object of her journey.

The King of Prussia demanded satisfaction for this outrage offered to his sister. The States of Holland, not feeling disposed to give it in the terms which the King demanded, he sent a body of 20,000 men to Holland, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who, in the space of a month, made himself master of the whole country, and even obliged the city of Amsterdam to submit. All the former resolutions which had been taken for limiting the power of the Stadtholder, were then annulled, and the prince was re-established in the plenitude of his rights.

Although the subsistence of the alliance between France and the Republic was obviously connected with the cause of the Patriots, the former took no steps to support that party, or to oppose the invasion of the Prussians. France had even the weakness to negotiate with the Court of London, for disarming their respective troops; declaring, that she entertained no hostile intentions relative to what had passed in Holland. The politics of the States-General from that time, underwent a complete revolution. Renouncing their alliance with France, they embraced that of Prussia and Great Britain. By the treaties which were signed at Berlin and the Hague (April 15, 1788,) these two powers undertook to guarantee the resolutions of 1747 and 1748, which made the Stadtholdership hereditary in the House of Orange. France thus shamefully lost the fruits of all the measures which she had taken, and the sums which she had lavished for attaching Holland to her federative system, in opposition to England.

The troubles which we have just now mentioned were soon followed by others, which the innovations of the Emperor Joseph II. had excited in the Austrian Netherlands. The different edicts which that Prince had published since the first of January 1787, for introducing a new order of administration in the Government, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the Belgic provinces, were regarded by the States of that country as contrary to the established constitution, and incompatible with the engagements contracted by the sovereign on his accession. The great excitement which these innovations caused, induced the Emperor to recall his edicts, and to restore things to their ancient footing. Nevertheless, as the public mind had been exas-

perated on both sides, disturbances were speedily renewed. The Emperor having demanded a subsidy, which was refused by the States of Brabant and Hainault, this circumstance induced him to revoke the amnesty which he had granted; to suppress the States and Sovereign Council of Brabant; and to declare, that he no longer considered himself bound by his *Inaugural Contract*. A great number of individuals, and several members of the States, were arrested by his orders. The Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Bishop of Antwerp, were suspected of having fomented these disturbances, and saved themselves by flight.

Two factions at that time agitated the Belgic Provinces, where they fanned the flame of civil discord. The one, headed by Vonk, an advocate, and supported by the Dukes of Ursel and Aremberg, inclined to the side of Austria. These limited their demands to the reformation of abuses, and a better system of representation in the States of the Netherlands. The other, under the direction of Vandernoot, and the Pensionary Vaneupen, while adhering to the support of the ancient forms, pretended to vest in the States, that sovereignty and independence of which they wished to deprive the House of Austria. The partisans of Vonk hoped to effect, by their own means, the reforms which they had in view; while the adherents of Vandernoot founded their hopes on the assistance of foreigners—especially of Prussia, who would not fail, they supposed, to seize this occasion of weakening the power of Austria. This latter party had undertaken to open an asylum for the discontented emigrants of Brabant, in the territory of the United Provinces in the neighbourhood of Breda. The two parties acted at first in concert. Vandermersch, a native of Menin in Flanders, and formerly a Colonel in the Austrian service, was proposed by Vonk, and received as General by both parties. A body of the insurgents, under the command of Vandermersch, marched to Turnhout in Brabant, and repulsed the Austrians, who had come to attack them under the orders of General Schroeder. This first success gave a stimulus to the insurrection, which spread from Brabant over the other Belgic provinces. The Austrians abandoned by degrees all the principal towns and places, and retired to the fortress of Luxemburg. Vandernoot made his triumphant entry into Brussels. The States of Brabant assembled in that city, and proclaimed their independence (Dec. 29, 1789.) The Emperor Joseph II. was declared to have forfeited the sovereignty, by having violated the engagements which he had come under by his *Inaugural Compact*.

The example of Brabant was soon followed by the other provinces. An assembly of Deputies, from all the Belgic provinces

was formed at Brussels (Jan. 11, 1790.) They signed an Act, by which these provinces joined in a confederacy, under the title of the United Belgic States. The rights of sovereignty, in as far as regarded their common defence, were vested in a Congress, composed of deputies from the different provinces, under the name of the *Sovereign Congress of the Belgic States*. Each province preserved its independence, and the exercise of the legislative power. Their union was declared permanent and irrevocable. They meddled neither with religion nor the constitution, and they admitted no other representatives than those who had been already nominated. This latter determination highly displeased General Vandermersch, and all those of Vonk's party, who had as much horror for an oligarchy in the States as for the despotism of the Court of Vienna. The party of the States prevailed nevertheless by the influence of Vandernoot, and the instigations of the priests and monks. Vandermersch, and all the zealous partisans of reform, were removed from the management of affairs. The former was even arrested, and General Schonfeld put in his place. Ruinous impeachments and imprisonments were the consequences of this triumph of the aristocratic faction.

These divisions, added to the death of Joseph II., which happened in the meantime, produced a change favourable for the interests of the Court of Vienna. Leopold II., who succeeded his brother on the throne of Austria, seemed disposed to terminate all these differences; and the Belgic Congress, seeing they could not reckon on the assistance of foreign powers, were also desirous of coming to an accommodation. The Court of Berlin had refused its protection to the Belgians, and that of London was decidedly opposed to their independence. These two courts, conjunctly with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, interposed their mediation for allaying those disturbances. The Emperor Leopold solemnly engaged, under the guarantee of the three mediating powers, to govern the Netherlands agreeably to the constitution, laws, and privileges which had been in force under the Empress Maria Theresa; never to do any thing to their prejudice; and to annul whatever had been done to the contrary under the reign of Joseph II. A declaration published by Leopold (Nov. 1790,) enjoined all his Belgic subjects to take anew the oath of allegiance. That Prince granted a general and unconditional pardon to all those who should lay down their arms within a given time. All the provinces in succession acknowledged their allegiance. Brussels opened her gates to the Austrian troops (Dec. 2, 1790,) and the patriots Vaneupen and Vandernoot took refuge in Holland.

The animosity which had for a long time subsisted between Russia and the Porte, occasioned a new war between these two powers in 1787. The Turks could not endure the humiliating conditions which the late treaties with Russia had imposed on them. The high tone which the Court of St. Petersburg used in their communications with the Porte, wounded the pride of the Ottomans; and the extraordinary journey of the Empress to Cherson and the Crimea (May 1787,) in which she was accompanied by the Emperor Joseph II., created alarm even in the city of Constantinople. The inhabitants of that capital thought they could perceive, in that journey, a premeditated design in the Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna to annihilate the Ottoman Empire, and divide the spoil between them. The Court of London, supported by that of Berlin, dexterously fanned the spark which lay concealed under these ashes. They wished to be avenged on the Court of St. Petersburg for the difficulties which she had thrown in the way of renewing their treaty of commerce; as well as the advantageous conditions which she had granted to France by the commercial treaty concluded with that power. The great activity with which Russia had carried on her commerce in the Black Sea, since she had obtained entire liberty by her treaties with the Porte, excited likewise the jealousy of England, who was afraid that the commercial connexions which she maintained with that power, through the Black Sea, might thereby be destroyed. The Turks, moreover, had to complain of the Russian Consul in Moldavia, who, as they alleged, sought every means to interrupt the peace and good understanding between the two Empires. They demanded that he should be recalled, and moreover, that the Empress should renounce the protection of Prince Heraclius, and withdraw her troops from Georgia. Finally, they wished that all Russian vessels that passed the Straits should be subjected to an examination, in order to prevent contraband trade.

These demands were no sooner made, than the Divan, without waiting for an answer from the Court of St. Petersburg, determined to proclaim war (Aug. 18, 1787,) by sending the Russian minister, M. de Boulgakoff, to the Castle of the Seven Towers. On the news of this rupture, the Empress despatched a considerable force against the Turks; her troops extended from Kaminiec in Podolia, to Balta, a Tartar village on the frontiers of Poland, between the Dniester and the Bog. Prince Potemkin, the commander-in-chief of the army, had under him Suwarow, Repnin, Kamenskoi, and others. The Emperor Joseph II., after having for some time supported the character of mediator between the Turks and Russians, engaged in the war

as the ally of Russia (Feb. 9, 1788.) He attacked the Turks in Moldavia, and on several points of Hungary. Marshal Laudon undertook the siege of Belgrade, of which he made himself master (Oct. 8, 1789.) It was obvious, however, that the progress of the Austrians did not correspond either to the ability of their generals or the superiority of their arms.

Another enemy of Russia appeared on the stage. Gustavus III., King of Sweden, listened to the insinuations of the Cabinets of London and Berlin, and made a diversion in favour of the Porte. That prince, after renewing his alliance with the Porte, commenced the war against Russia, at the very instant when the whole of her forces were turned against the Turks. A land army was formed by his orders in Finland, while a Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line and ten frigates, advanced on Cronstadt, and threw the city of St. Petersburg into a state of great terror. An engagement between the two fleets took place near the Isle of Hoogland (May 30, 1789.) Both sides fought with equal advantage; but an unforeseen event disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch. After he had made his dispositions for attacking the city of Fredricksheim in Finland, several officers of his army refused to march, alleging as a reason, that the constitution of the kingdom would not permit them to be accessory to an offensive war, which the Swedish nation had not sanctioned. The example of these officers occasioned the defection of a great part of the troops. The expedition to Finland failed, and the Russians thus gained time to put themselves in a state of defence.

The Empress, thus attacked by the King of Sweden, claimed the supplies which Denmark owed her, in virtue of the alliance which subsisted between the two States. The Danes fitted out a squadron, and marched a body of auxiliary troops into the government of Bohus, which they soon conquered (1788.) From Bohus they marched to West Gothland, and laid siege to Gothenburg. The King of Sweden hastened in person to the defence of that place, one of the most important in his kingdom. It would certainly have fallen, however, but for the powerful intervention of the Cabinets of London and Berlin, who obliged the Court of Copenhagen to conclude the different truces with Sweden (1789,) and to adopt a perfect neutrality, even with the consent of the court of St. Petersburg.

The war between the Swedes and the Russians was then confined to naval operations, the success of which, in the campaigns of 1789 and 1790, was nearly equal on both sides. The defeat which the Swedish fleet sustained in the Gulf of Viburg (July 3, 1790,) was compensated by the victory which the King of Swe-

den gained in person (July 9, 10,) at Swenkasund over the Russian fleet, commanded by the Prince of Nassau-Siegen. This action, which cost the Russians many men, and a great number of their ships, tended to accelerate the peace between the two powers. The King of Sweden being deserted by the Courts of London and Berlin, who had drawn him into the war, was terrified lest the Russians should take advantage of the discontents that prevailed among the Swedish Nobles, to penetrate into the interior of his kingdom. He willingly accepted the equitable conditions which the Empress of Russia proposed to him. Peace was concluded in the Plain of Werela, near the river Kymen (Aug. 14, 1790,) between the advanced posts of the two camps: and the limits of both States were re-established on the footing of former treaties.

As to the events of the war between Russia and the Porte, they were entirely in favour of the former power. A body of Russian troops, in conjunction with the Austrian army, made themselves masters of Choczim (Sept. 1788.) Prince Potemkin undertook the siege of the important fortress of Oczakoff (Dec. 17,) and carried the place by assault, in spite of the courageous defence made by the Turks. The whole garrison was put to the sword, and a great part of the inhabitants met with the same fate. Suwarow and the Prince of Coburg beat the Turks near Focksani in Moldavia (July 21, 1789.) The same General, with the assistance of that Prince, gained a brilliant victory over the Turks near Martinesti, on the banks of the Rymna (Sept. 22,) which gained him the epithet of *Rymniski*. The taking of the fortress of Bender, was an immediate consequence of that victory. Besides the province of Oczakoff, the whole of Moldavia and Bessarabia, with Tulcza, Isakzi, Kilia, and Ismael, and the fortress of Sudjoukkale, in Turkish Cuban, fell successively into the hands of the Russians. The taking of Ismael by Suwarow, occasioned prodigious slaughter. It cost the lives of 30,000 Ottomans; without reckoning the prisoners, who amounted to the number of 10,000.

These victories stirred up the jealousy of the British ministry, who fitted out an expedition to make a new diversion in favour of the Porte, and engaged their ally, the King of Prussia, to despatch a body of troops to the frontiers of Silesia and Poland. Not confining himself to these operations, that Prince concluded a formal alliance with the Porte, in which he agreed to declare war against the Austrians, as well as the Russians, in the course of next spring. The Emperor Leopold II., yielding to these menaces, and being desirous of restoring peace to his subjects, concluded an agreement at Reichenbach (July 27,

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1790,) with the Court of Berlin, by which he granted an armistice, and consented to make a special peace with the Porte on the basis of the *status ante bellum*. This peace was signed at Szistowa, in Bulgaria (Aug. 4, 1791,) under the mediation of Holland and Prussia. The Emperor restored Belgrade, and in general, all that he had taken from the Turks during the war. He agreed to retain Choczim no longer than the conclusion of the peace between the Russians and the Turks; only they promised him a more advantageous frontier on the left bank of the Unna; and on the side of Wallachia, the river Tzerna was adopted as the boundary between the two Empires.

The Empress of Russia having resolved not to receive the proposals which the two allied courts offered her, then continued the war alone against the Porte, and her generals signalized themselves by new exploits. At length the British ministry being convinced that this Princess would never yield, thought fit to abandon the terms which, in concert with the Court of Berlin, they had demanded, as the basis of the peace to be concluded between Russia and the Porte. Besides, they were desirous of making up matters with Russia, at the time when she detached herself from France, by renouncing the engagements which she had contracted with that power by the treaty of commerce of 1787, with the Court of Berlin. The British ministry agreed never to assist the Turks, should they persist in refusing the equitable conditions of peace which the Empress had offered them.

A negotiation was opened at Galatz on the Danube. The preliminaries between Russia and the Porte were signed there; and the definitive peace concluded at Jassy in Moldavia (Jan. 9, 1792.) This treaty renewed the stipulations of all former treaties since that of Kainargi. The Dniester was established as a perpetual frontier between the two Empires. The Turks ceded to Russia the fortress of Oczakoff, with all the country lying between the Bog and the Dniester. The cession of the Crimea, the isle of Taman, and part of the Cuban, lying on the right bank of the river of that name, was confirmed to Russia. The Porte likewise engaged to put a stop to the piracies of the Barbary Corsairs, and even to indemnify the subjects of Russia for their losses, should they not obtain reparation within a limited time. Russia likewise restored all her other conquests; only stipulating, for certain advantages, in favour of Moldavia and Wallachia.

It had been agreed between the plenipotentiaries of the two Empires, that the Porte should pay a sum of 12,000,000 of piasters, to indemnify Russia for the expenses of the war. But

immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the Empress gave intimation that she would renounce this payment in favour of the Porte; a piece of generosity which excited the admiration of the Ottoman plenipotentiaries. The peace of Jassy gave new energy to the commerce of the Russians on the Black Sea; and the Empress founded the town and port of Odessa, which is situated on a bay of the Black Sea, between the Bog and the Dniester, about nine leagues distant from Oczakoff.

CHAPTER X.

PERIOD IX.

From the commencement of the French Revolution to the downfall of Buonaparte. A. D. 1789—1815.

THE period of the French Revolution, on which we are entering, does not comprehend more than twenty-five years; but that short space contains more lessons of important instruction than the two centuries which preceded it. In course of that time, the condition of Europe was entirely changed. The political system, which it had cost the combined labour of three hundred years to rear, was overturned from its basis, burying kingdoms and whole nations in the ruins.

It was an era fertile in examples both of virtues and vices. It displayed the extremes of suffering and violence, of meanness and magnanimity. Kingdoms rose and disappeared by turns. New principles in morals and politics flourished for a day, and were quickly superseded by others. Europe was subdued and enslaved, first in the name of liberty and equality, and afterwards to gratify the ambition of a conqueror. At length an end was put to this reign of despotism; and the nations of the Continent were delivered from a usurpation which they had too long supported with patience.

The system of political equilibrium invented in the fifteenth century, and established by the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht, was totally overthrown by France, during the period of which we speak. Two causes accelerated its downfall. The first was the violation of its fundamental principles, by the three powers who dismembered Poland,—an act which made justice and equity yield to convenience, and set an example that might prove dangerous to their own security. The other was the general belief which prevailed in the Cabinets of Europe, that

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the project of founding an universal monarchy was for ever hopeless and visionary—a persuasion which had lulled them into a state of fatal repose. This project, however, which they thought impracticable, was actually carried into execution; though it appeared under a new form. The daring individual who conceived the design, gave it the name of the *Federative System*. By his plan, the different States on the Continent were to preserve an apparent independence, whenever this did not thwart his own views; but their policy was to be entirely subservient to his interest, and to be regulated according to his direction. In this manner he undertook to conquer the whole world, with the aid of the Federal States, who were obliged to espouse his quarrels, and to make common cause with him against every power that refused to submit voluntarily to his sway, or to that of his family, whom he placed as his vassals or some of the most ancient thrones of Europe.

To this was added another, which he called the *Continental System*. Its main object was to exclude Great Britain from all commerce with the other European states. By this means he hoped to deprive her of the command of the sea, of which she was now undisputed mistress; to annihilate her commerce; cut off the sources of her wealth; ruin her marine; and even to overthrow the constitution, which had so long been the boast and happiness of the English nation. Had it been possible to carry this project into execution, the Continent must necessarily have been impoverished and ruined.

The twenty-five years of which we are now to give a brief outline, are so crowded with events, that, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be necessary to divide them into separate periods. In the history of France, the natural divisions are the five following, viz. (1.) From the opening of the States-General, May 5, 1789, till the abolition of Monarchy and the Constitutional Government, Aug. 10, 1792. (2.) The Reign of Terror; from Aug. 10, 1792, till Oct. 26, 1795, when the Convention ceased to govern France. (3.) The Republican Government; from Oct. 26, 1795 till May 18, 1804, when Buonaparte was declared Emperor. (4.) The Reign of Napoleon Buonaparte; from May 18, 1804, till March 30, 1814, when the Allies entered Paris. (5.) The Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, after an exile of more than twenty years.

These divisions point out the most remarkable changes that occurred in France during this period. Nevertheless, as we must notice the events which took place in the rest of Europe, a more convenient division will be as follows. (1.) From the commencement of the French Revolution till the Peace of

Amiens, March 27, 1802. (2.) From the Peace of Amiens till the year 1810, when the power of France was at its greatest height. (3.) From the end of the year 1810, till the Treaty of Paris in November 1815, which includes the decline and fall of the French Empire under Buonaparte, and the restoration of a new political system in Europe. After giving a sketch of the various events which happened in France, we shall shortly advert to the revolution which the different states of Europe underwent during the same time. The affairs of other parts of the world can only be taken notice of, as they may happen to be connected or interwoven with those of Europe.

We now return to the first of these periods, commencing with the origin of the French Revolution (May 1789,) and ending with the Peace of Amiens.

The primary and elementary causes of the Revolution in France must be traced back to the disordered state of her finances, which began under Louis XIV. ; to the general immorality which prevailed under the Regent Orleans ; to the mal-administration of the government in the reign of Louis XV. ; and, finally, to the new doctrines, both religious and political, which had become fashionable after the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is not to be denied, that there were many abuses in the existing government of France that required to be corrected. The royal prerogative at that time, may be called arbitrary rather than despotic, for the Monarch had, in reality, greater power than he exercised. The persons and properties of the subject were at the disposal of the crown, by means of imposts, confiscations, letters of exile, &c. ; and this dangerous authority was resisted only by the feeblest barriers. Certain bodies, it is true, possessed means of defence, but these privileges were seldom respected. The noblesse were exempted from contributions to the state, and totally separated from the commons, by the prohibition of intermarriages. The clergy were also exempted from taxation, for which they substituted voluntary grants. Besides these oppressive imposts, the internal administration was badly organized. The nation, divided into three orders, which were again subdivided into several classes, was abandoned to all the evils of despotism, and all the miseries of partial representation. The noblesse were divided into courtiers, who lived on the favour of the prince, and who had no common sympathies with the people. They held stations in the army for which they were not qualified, and made a trade of all appointments and offices of trust. The clergy were divided into two classes, one of which was destined for the bishoprics and abbacies with their

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rich revenues, while the other was destined to poverty and labour. The commons scarcely possessed a third part of the soil, for which they were compelled to pay feudal services to the territorial barons, tithes to the priests, and taxes to the King. In compensation for so many sacrifices, they enjoyed no rights, had no share in the administration, and were admitted to no public employments.

Such was the condition of France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne. This order of things could not continue for ever; but with proper caution and skilful management, many salutary improvements might have been introduced, without plunging the nation into rebellion and anarchy. Louis XVI. had just views and amiable dispositions; but he was without decision of character, and had no perseverance in his measures. His projects for regenerating the State encountered obstacles which he had not foreseen, and which he found it impossible to overcome. He was continually vacillating in the choice of his ministers; and his reign, up to the assembling of the States-General, was a complication of attempted reforms, which produced no beneficial result. Maurepas, Turgot, and Malesherbes, had been successively intrusted with the management of affairs; but they found it impossible to give satisfaction to any party. Their efforts for retrenchment displeased the courtiers, while the people were discontented at the continuation of existing abuses. The exhausted state in which the American war had left the finances of the kingdom, and the unskilfulness of the ministers; one of whom, the celebrated Necker, could contrive no other method of repairing these losses, than by means of forced loans, which augmented the national debt, and added to the other embarrassments of the government. The plan of M. de Calonne, another of the ministers, was to assemble the *Notables*, or respectable and distinguished persons of the kingdom (Feb. 23, 1787,) with the view of obtaining through their means those new imposts which he could not expect to be sanctioned by the Parliament of Paris. But this assembly seemed little disposed to second his designs. They discovered, with astonishment, that within a few years loans had been raised to the amount of one thousand six hundred and forty-six millions of francs; and that there was an annual deficit in the revenue of one hundred and forty millions. This discovery was the signal for the retirement of Calonne.

His successor, Cardinal Brienne, the Archbishop of Toulouse tried in vain to overcome the resistance of the Parliament, who declared, by a solemn protestation (May 3, 1788,) that the right of granting supplies belonged to the States-General alone. Louis XVI., yielding to this expression of the public opinion, promised

to assemble the deputies of the nation. A second meeting of the Notables, held at Versailles (Nov. 6,) deliberated as to the form and constitution of the States-General. M. Necker, who was recalled to the ministry, counselled the King to prefer the advice of the minority, who had espoused the popular side; and proposed to grant to the *Tiers-Etat*, or *Third Order*, a double number of Representatives in the States-General; which advice was followed.

The States-General were summoned to meet at Versailles on the 27th of April 1789. The number of deputies was twelve hundred; six hundred of whom were of the *Tiers-Etat*, three hundred of the noblesse, and three hundred of the clergy. The King opened the assembly in person (May 5, 1789.) It was accompanied with great solemnity and magnificence. The clergy occupied the first place; next came the noblesse. The *Tiers-Etat* followed last. These individuals comprehended the choice of the nation; but the greater part of them were entirely inexperienced in state affairs, and not a few of them were imbued with the principles of the new philosophy. The majority proposed to regenerate the government according to their own speculative notions; while others secretly entertained the hope of overturning it, to gratify their own antipathies; or to satiate their avarice and ambition.

A difference immediately arose on the question, whether they should sit according to their orders. Conciliatory measures having been tried in vain, the deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* resolved to declare themselves a *National Assembly*. The King having ordered them to suspend their sittings, they changed their place of assembly to a Tennis Court, where, in opposition to the Royal authority, they took an oath never to separate until they had achieved the regeneration of France. The majority of the clergy, and some of the nobles, joined this tumultuous assembly. Louis XVI., by a *Royal Session* (June 23,) condemned the conduct of this meeting; abrogated its decisions; and published a declaration containing the basis of a free constitution. But the authority of the King had now ceased to be respected. The National Assembly refused to accept from him as a boon, what they were preparing to seize by force. Alarmed at this opposition, Louis commanded the nobles and the clergy to join the popular party, or *Tiers-Etat*, as a measure for conciliating the public mind.

The prime agent in this revolution was Mirabeau, a man of an ambitious and turbulent spirit, who inflamed the Assembly by his violent harangues. A demagogue from interest, and of good abilities, though immoral in his character, he was resolved

to build his fortune on the public troubles, and to prevent, by all means in his power, the first symptoms of a return to subordination and tranquillity. The Duke of Orleans supplied money to corrupt the troops, and excite insurrections over all parts of France.

In the mean time, the King assembled an army at Versailles, under the command of Marshal Broglio; and banished Necker (July 11,) with whom he had some just reasons to be displeased. This was the signal for a popular commotion. Paris was in a state of the greatest fermentation. The press inflamed the public mind. The people discussed in the open air those questions which were agitated in the Assembly. A table served the purpose of a rostrum; and every citizen became an orator, who harangued on the dangers of his country, and the necessity of resistance. The mob forced the Bastille (July 14,) seized on the depots of arms, mounted the tri-coloured cockade, which was the distinctive banner of the city of Paris, and became that of the apostles of the revolution. Bailly, the academician, was appointed mayor; the citizens formed themselves into a *National Guard*, under the command of the Marquis La Fayette. The King, placed in so critical a situation, and surrounded with danger, consented to withdraw the troops collected in the capital and the neighbourhood. He recalled M. Necker, (July 17,) and repaired to Paris to intimate his good intentions to the Assembly; declaring, that he identified himself with the nation, and relied on the affection and allegiance of his subjects.

The National Assembly had usurped the whole legislative power, and undertaken to draw up a new constitution. Their charter commenced with a *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. Such was the ardour of their revolutionary enthusiasm, that they abolished, without discussion, and at one nocturnal sitting, the feudal regime, the rights and privileges of provinces and corporations, the tithes, and the greater part of the seigniorial prerogatives. It was decreed (Aug. 4,) that the legislative power should be exercised by a single chamber; and that the King could not refuse his sanction to these decrees longer than four years.

As the Revolution did not proceed with a rapidity equal to the wishes of the Orleans faction, they took care to stir up new insurrections. The mob of Paris attacked Versailles (Oct. 6,) invested the Chateau, committed the most horrible excesses, and conducted the King and his family prisoners to Paris, where they were followed by the National Assembly. These legislators decreed the spoliation of the clergy, by placing their benefices at the disposal of the nation. They ordered the division of France into eighty-three departments; the sale of the crown-

lands, and ecclesiastical property ; the proceeds of which to be pledged for the redemption of the paper money, which was ordered to be issued, under the name of *assignats* ; the admission of Jews to the rights of citizens ; the prohibition of monastic vows ; the right of the National Assembly to declare war, in consequence of a proposition from the King ; a secular constitution, which rendered the clergy independent of the head of the church, and gave the people a right to nominate their bishops ; the abolition of the noblesse ; and the establishment of a tribunal at Orleans, for judging crimes of high treason against the nation.

Occupied with these decrees (1790-91,) the National Assembly left the King no authority to repress the crimes and excesses which were multiplying every day within the kingdom ; nor did they adopt themselves any measures for putting a stop to them. The King, indeed, according to the plan of their constitution, was, to be the depository and supreme head of the executive power ; but he had been stripped of the means necessary to the effective exercise of any authority whatever. He had neither places to grant, nor favours to bestow. He was left without any control over the inferior parts of the administration, since the men who filled these posts were elected by the people. He was not even allowed the pomp of a throne, or the splendour of a crown. The Assembly seemed to think it a part of their glory to divest their monarch of his most valuable prerogatives. They imagined that a monarchy could subsist when its authority was reduced to a phantom ; that the throne could stand secure amidst the ruin of ranks ; exposed to all the waves of faction, and when every sentiment of respect and affection was destroyed. Such was the idea of royalty entertained by the French legislators. By abolishing the gradations of society, they sapped the very foundations of that frail and imaginary majesty which they had modelled and fashioned according to their own ideas. Thousands of noble families, finding their lives insecure, resolved to abandon the country. The King himself made an attempt to escape from the captivity in which he was held. He did escape in disguise, but was recognised, and arrested at Varennes by the National Guard (June 25,) reconducted to Paris, and suspended from his functions. Monsieur, the King's brother, was more fortunate. He arrived at Brussels. The Count D'Artois, the younger brother, had quitted France the year before.

The Orleans party undertook to compel the National Assembly to pronounce the deposition of the King. A large assemblage, which had met in the Champs-de-Mars (July 17, 1791,) was dispersed by an armed force, by order of Bailly, and commanded by La Fayette. The moderate party in the National Assembly

had gained the ascendancy. The constitutional articles were revised in some points, and digested into a systematic form. The King accepted this new code (Sept. 13;) and there was every reason to believe that he was resolved to carry it into execution. The Constituent Assembly, after having declared Avignon and Venaissin annexed to France, separated (Sept. 30,) to make way for a Legislative Assembly.

The Royal brothers and most of the emigrants, having fixed their residence at Coblenz, published addresses to all the Courts of Europe, to solicit their assistance in restoring the King, and checking the revolutionary torrent which threatened to inundate Germany. The Princes of the Empire, who had possessions in Alsace, found themselves aggrieved by the decrees of the Constituent Assembly, in respect to those rights which had been guaranteed to them on the faith of existing treaties. They accordingly claimed the intervention of the Emperor and the Empire. The Electors of Mayence and Treves had permitted the French noblesse to organize bodies of armed troops within their estates. After the arrest of the King at Varennes, the Emperor Leopold had addressed a circular to all his brother Sovereigns, dated from Padua (July 6,) in which he invited them to form an alliance for restoring the King's legitimate authority in France. Accordingly, an alliance was concluded at Vienna a few days after between Austria and Prussia, the object of which was to compel France to maintain her treaties with the neighbouring States. The two monarchs, who met at Pilnitz (Aug. 27,) declared that they would employ the most efficacious means for leaving the King of France at perfect liberty to lay the foundation of monarchical government. But after Louis had accepted the constitution of the Assembly, the Emperor formally announced (Nov. 12,) that the co-operation of the contracting powers was in consequence suspended.

In a moment of unreflecting liberality, the Constituent Assembly had formerly declared, that none of its members could be elected for the first Legislative Assembly. This new Assembly, which met Oct. 1, 1791, was composed of men altogether deficient in experience, and hurried on by the headlong fanaticism of revolution. It was divided into two parties. On the right hand were those who hoped to preserve monarchy, by maintaining the constitution with certain improvements and modifications; and on the left, those who proposed that they should proceed in their revolutionary career. This latter party, in which the deputies of the Girondists had the ascendancy, had conceived two methods for overturning the constitution, viz. 1, to bring the King into disrepute, by obliging him to make use of his suspen-

sive *veto* against those decrees which appeared most popular; and 2, to involve the nation in war, that they might find employment for the army, who seemed pleased with the new order of things. The party on the right, who formed the majority, had not the courage to oppose the execution of this plan. The Assembly issued severe decrees against the King's brothers, as well as against the emigrants and the priests, who had taken no share in these levelling projects. They deprived the King of his body-guard, and subjected him to every species of annoyance and humiliation.

This Assembly, however, was by no means in the enjoyment of entire liberty. It was under the influence of those popular societies, known by the name of *Jacobins*, so called from their meeting in a convent in Paris, formerly belonging to that religious order. These societies, who had overspread all France, were affiliated with each other, and all under the control and direction of the parent society in the metropolis. It was there that they prepared those laws which they compelled the National Assembly to pass, and concocted their plots against the Royal authority. They had an immense number of emissaries in every country, who propagated their doctrines, and prepared the way for the triumph of their principles.

In order to provoke a declaration of war, and thereby get rid of the army, the deputies on the left never ceased to inveigh from the public tribunals against the conduct of foreign powers; and to represent the King as secretly leagued with them in their designs. His most faithful servants had been the object of their calumnies. The ministry resigned their office, and the King reconstructed a cabinet composed of Jacobins (March 17, 1792,) the most conspicuous of whom were Dumouriez, who became Minister for the Foreign department, Clavieres and Duranthon, who were intrusted with the Finance, and Roland, who was promoted to the administration of the Interior.

The Emperor Leopold, with whom they were on terms of negotiation, demanded redress for the grievances of those princes who had possessions in Alsace. Instead of giving him satisfaction, the new French Cabinet induced the King to propose to the Assembly (April 20,) that they could answer his demands in no other way than by a declaration of war. This proposition passed with little deliberation, and was hailed with enthusiasm. Seven members only had the courage to oppose it. The Assembly continued to issue their revolutionary decrees, which were both repugnant to the conscience of the King, and dangerous to the security of the throne. Louis, who had been recently offended by the dismissal of his guards, declared he

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could no longer submit to the insolence of these new ministers, three of whom he discarded with indignation. Their accomplices, the Jacobins, and Pethion the mayor of Paris, then organized an insurrection of the armed populace of the *Fauxbourg*s or suburbs. The mob then repaired to the Tuileries (June 20,) to force the King to sanction the decrees of the Assembly, and recall the *patriot* ministers. The King saved his own life, and that of his Queen, by repelling those factious demagogues with firmness and courage. He constantly refused to grant what they demanded of him by violence; while the National Assembly displayed the most shameful pusillanimity. They even carried their cowardice so far, as to replace Pethion and Manuel in their functions, whom the King had suspended for having failed to perform their duty.

Pethion, and those who ruled at their pleasure the *Sections* of Paris, where no royalist dared to appear, then demanded the dethronement of the King; and in order to compel the Assembly to pronounce sentence against him, the conspirators publicly organized a new insurrection. The populace rose in arms, and attacked the Castle of the Tuileries (Aug. 10.) The King refused the assistance of those faithful citizens who had flocked round his person. Misled by unwise or perfidious counsels, he repaired with his family to Paris; and entering the National Assembly, addressed them in these words: "Gentlemen, I am come here to avoid the commission of a great crime. I shall always consider myself and my family in safety when I am among the representatives of the nation." The populace having assailed the Castle, the faithful Swiss Guards defended it with courage, and perished in the performance of their duty. The greater part of those found in the Tuileries were massacred by the rabble. The representatives of the nation, who were, during this time, in a state of the greatest alarm, decreed, in presence of the Sovereign, and on the proposal of Vergniaud, that the King should be suspended, and a National Convention assembled.

Some days after, Louis, with his Queen, the Dauphin, Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth, the King's sister, were imprisoned in the Temple, under a guard of the municipality of Paris, composed of partisans of the Revolution. This municipality, and the ministers appointed by the Assembly, exercised a most tyrannical authority. The prisons were crowded with priests and nobles. Danton, the Minister of Justice, and a most violent revolutionist, entered into arrangements with the *Commune* for the massacre of these innocent men. The cruel work of butchery continued for three days without remorse (Sept. 2,

3,) and without the Legislative Assembly daring to interpose. A few days after, the prisoners who had been sent to the Tribunal at Orleans, were conducted to Versailles, and put to death by the hands of relentless murderers. At length the Legislative Assembly dissolved, (Sept. 21,) to make way for the National Convention.

The war had commenced in the month of April 1791. Luckner, Rochambaud, and La Fayette, commanded the French armies, but their operations were without success. The Austrians had merely acted on the defensive. In virtue of an alliance concluded at Berlin (Feb. 7,) between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, an army of fifty thousand Prussians, to which were added six thousand Hessians and a body of emigrants, all under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, and an Austrian army, commanded by Clairfait, entered France by way of the Ardennes. Longwy and Verdun opened their gates to the Prussians (Aug. 13;) but their progress was arrested by the manœuvres of Dumouriez, who had succeeded La Fayette in the command of the army; as well as by sickness and the want of provisions. After cannonading Valmy (Sept. 20,) which was commanded by General Kellerman, the combined army retired towards the Rhine, and into the dutchy of Luxemburg.

The Girondists, reinforced by all the enthusiasts in France, formed the National Assembly (Sept. 21, 1792.) The very day of their meeting, they voted the abolition of royalty, on the proposition of the comedian Collot D'Herbois, and proclaimed the *Republic*. Like the Assemblies which had preceded it, this was divided into two parties; the one composed of the Girondists and their friends, who wished for the restoration of order; the other called the *Mountain*, had an interest in continuing the revolution. Political dominion was the object of contest which from the beginning engaged these two parties; but they assumed the pretext of honest design, to conceal their main purpose from the eyes of the vulgar. The deputies of the Mountainists, as they could not charge their adversaries with the reproach of Royalism, exhibited them to the people as *Federalists*, a reproach which was afterwards fatal to the party; and in order to have a rallying word, Tallien decreed (Sept. 5,) that the Republic was *one and indivisible*.

To detail all the laws and acts which the Convention published during the three years which it oppressed France, would be to unfold a disgusting catalogue of crimes and extravagances; we must be content with merely adverting to such of its operations as were distinguished by their enormity, or produced any durable effect. One of its first decrees was, to banish all emi-

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grants for ever ; and to order those to be put to death who should return to their native country. Soon after, they made a tender of their assistance to all subjects who might be inclined to revolt against their legitimate sovereigns ; and in the countries which were occupied by their own armies, they proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, and the abolition of the established authorities. The moderate party, or, more properly speaking, the less furious party of the Convention, were willing to spare the King's life. This, however, was one reason for the Mountainists to put him to death. The Convention accordingly decreed (Dec. 3, 1792,) that a trial should be instituted against Louis Capet, as they called him ; and combining, in the most absurd manner, the functions of accusers, judges, and legislators, they assumed the right of pronouncing as to his culpability. Twice they compelled him to appear at their bar (Dec. 11, 26,) where de Seze, Malesherbes, and Tronchet undertook his defence. The demeanour of the King was full of candour and dignity. Of seven hundred and twenty voters, six hundred and eighty-three declared him guilty (Jan. 15, 1793.) Thirty-seven refused to vote on different grounds, some of which were honourable ; but the Assembly did not contain a single man who dared positively to pronounce the innocence of their victim. Two only of those who refused to vote, declared they did not think themselves entitled to sit as judges of the King.

The minority in vain had flattered themselves that they might rescue the King from death, provided they referred the punishment to the nation itself. But in this they were disappointed. Of seven hundred and eighteen voters, four hundred and twenty-four objected to the appeal to the people. Two hundred and eighty-three admitted it ; and eleven had voted from interested motives, which could not be sustained. Nothing now remained but to pronounce the punishment to be inflicted on the King. Of seven hundred and twenty-one voters, three hundred and sixty-one were for an unconditional sentence of immediate death, and among these the Duke of Orleans, (Jan. 17.) The partisans of Louis interposed, and appealed from this sentence to the nation. In vain did the Girondists support this petition. Of six hundred and ninety voters, three hundred and eighty decided that his execution should take place within twenty-four hours.

Louis heard his sentence of death with composure and Christian resignation. He had already made his will, a monument at once of his piety and the purity of his heart. He died the death of a martyr (Jan. 21, 1793.) At the moment when the executioner's axe was ready to strike, the Abbé Edgeworth, his confessor, addressed him in these sublime words :—" Son of St.

Louis, ascend to Heaven !" The whole inhabitants of Paris, who viewed this foul deed with horror, were under arms. A mournful silence reigned in the city.

All governments agreed in condemning the conduct of the regicides ; but the voice of general detestation did not check the career of the sanguinary faction. The crime with which the Convention had stained themselves presaged the ruin of the Girondists, though they retarded their downfall by a struggle of four months. An insurrection of the sections of Paris (June 2,) organized by Hebert, procureur of the commune, and by the deputies Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, decided the victory. The Girondists were proscribed for the crime of federalism. The victorious party honoured themselves with the title of *Sans-culottes*, and commenced what has been called the Reign of Terror. The Convention was now nothing more than an assembly of executioners, and a den of brigands. To hoodwink and deceive the people, they submitted for their approbation the plan of a constitution, drawn up by Hérault de Séchelles (June 24 ;) according to which the Primary Assemblies were to exercise the sovereignty, and deliberate on all legislative measures. After the 2d of June, the whole power was in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, which was formed in the Convention. Danton, the chief of the Cordeliers, a popular assembly more extravagant than the Jacobins themselves, had the most influence for a time ; but he was soon supplanted by Robespierre. The Constitution of the 24th of June had been adopted in the Primary Assemblies ; but Robespierre decreed that it should be suspended (Aug. 28 ;) and that the Republic was in a state of revolution, until its independence was acknowledged.

Under this title they organized a government, the most tyrannical and the most sanguinary which history ever recorded. Robespierre was at the head of it. All France swarmed with revolutionary committees. Revolutionary armies were dispersed every where, dragging the wealthy and well-affected to punishment. A law with regard to suspected persons changed all the public edifices into prisons, and filled all the prisons with victims devoted to destruction. To remedy the fall of the assignats, the Convention fixed an assessment, called the *maximum*, on all articles of consumption ; a measure which reduced the country to a state of famine. The Queen, Maria Antoinette, was accused before this revolutionary tribunal, and brought to the scaffold (Oct. 16.) Many of the Girondist deputies were arrested on the 2d of June, and met with the same fate. The Duke of Orleans, who was become an object of execration to all parties, perished there in his turn (Nov. 7.) Nobody pitied

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his fate. Over all the provinces of the kingdom the blood of the innocent flowed in torrents.

The revolutionists did not stop here. To their political crimes they added acts of impiety. They began by abolishing the Gregorian calendar and the Christian era, and substituted in its place the era of the Republic; to commence on the 22d September 1793. In a short time, Hebert and Chaumette, two chiefs of the commune, got the Convention to decree the abolition of the Christian religion (Nov. 10.) The worship of Reason was substituted in its place; and the church of Notre Dame at Paris was profaned, by being converted into a temple of atheism. Gobel, the Constitutional Bishop of Paris, and several other ecclesiastics, publicly apostatized from their faith. Plunder and sacrilege of all kinds were committed in the Catholic churches.

The departments in the west of France had remained faithful to the King. In Poitou, Maine, Brittany, and Normandy, a civil war arose, known by the name of the Vendean War, which was on the point of overturning the Republic. The Vendean insurgents took the title of the Catholic army, which was commanded in the name of Louis XVII., (who still remained a prisoner in the Temple after his father's death,) by a Council which sat at Chatillon. M. d'Elbée was Commander-in-chief. He had under him Artus de Bonchamp, the Marquis de Lescure, de Larochejacquelin, Cathelineau, Charette, and Stofflet. This insurrection had broken out on account of a levy of troops which the Republic had ordered.

The war was carried on with violence and cruelty. Among the most remarkable of its events that happened in the year 1793, were the battle of Saumur (June 9,) after which all the towns on the Loire, except Nantes, declared for the King; the battle of Chatillon, where the Royalists were repeatedly defeated by the army of Mayence, which the Convention had sent against them; the passage of the Loire (Oct. 17, 19,) by a hundred thousand of the Vendéans, including old men, women and children, who were eager to approach the coast, where they expected the supplies promised by England to arrive; the defeat of the army of Mayence at Chateau Gontier; the taking of Mans by the Republicans, and their victory at Savenay; the taking of Noirmoutier, where the brave d'Elbée fell into the hands of the enemy (Jan. 2, 1794;) and, in the last place, the defeat of Charette at Machecoul. The troops of the Convention were commanded in succession by Biron, Canclaux, Westermann, Kleber, Beysser, l'Echelle, Marceau, and Rossignol. The deputy Carrier de Nantes covered the whole country with slaughter, and exerted his ingenuity to invent new methods of massacre.

Other insurrections arose in the south of France, after the revolution of the 2d of June. Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, declared themselves against the Convention. Bourdeaux was speedily subdued (Aug. 25, 1793.) General Carteaux took possession of Marseilles, with the assistance of the populace. Toulon proclaimed Louis XVII. (Aug. 29,) and threw themselves under the protection of Admirals Hood and Langara, who were cruising off their coast with the English and Spanish fleets. Kellerman had orders to besiege Lyons; a task which was afterwards intrusted to Doppet. This city surrendered after a vigorous resistance (Oct. 9.) It became the scene of the most atrocious actions. Its finest buildings were entirely ruined and demolished by order of the Convention. Carteaux took Toulon by assault (Dec. 24.) It was during the siege of this place, that a young officer distinguished himself by his courage, and afterwards by his enthusiasm for the Revolution. This youth was Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Ajaccio in Corsica.

The very same day on which the Convention met, the Duke of Saxe-Teschen at the head of the Austrian army, had commenced the siege of Lille; but he was obliged to raise it in about twenty days. The Legislative Assembly had declared war against the King of Sardinia (Sept. 10, 1792.) General Montesquiou took possession of Savoy, and Anselm made himself master of Nice. Some months after, the Convention declared these provinces to be annexed to France. While the allies were retiring from Champagne, Custine took Mayence by a *coup de main* (Oct. 21,) assisted, as it afterwards appeared, by treachery. Dumouriez, with a superior force, beat the Duke of Saxe-Teschen at Gemappe (Nov. 6,) and soon achieved the conquest of the Belgic provinces. The Convention having declared war against England and the Stadtholder of the Netherlands (Feb. 1, 1793,) as well as against Spain, a powerful coalition was formed against them, of which England and Russia were the prime supporters; the one by her armaments, and the other by the subsidies which she furnished. They were joined by all the Christian Sovereigns in Europe, with the exception of Denmark.

Dumouriez undertook the conquest of Holland, and penetrated as far as Moerdyk: but he was obliged to abandon his object in consequence of the defeat of Miranda who had laid siege to Maestricht, by the Austrian army under the command of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. Dumouriez was himself defeated at Nerwinden (March 18,) after which he retired towards the frontier of France. Being determined to put an end to the tyranny of the Convention, and to re-establish the constitution of 1791, he concluded an armistice with the Austrians, and delivered up

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to them the commissioners which the Convention had sent to deprive him of his office ; but his army having refused to obey him, he escaped to Tournay, where General Clairfait then was. The young Duke of Chartres accompanied him in his flight.

During the rest of the campaign, success was divided between the two parties. The Austrians, who were conquerors at Famars (May 24,) took Condé, Valenciennes, and Quesnoy (July.) The Duke of York, who commanded the English army, was beat by Houchard at Hondscote (Sept. 8.) Jourdan compelled General Clairfait, by means of the battle of Wattignies, to raise the siege of Maubeuge. On the side of the Pyrenees, the Spanish generals, Ricardos and Ventura-Caro, gained several advantages ; the former having taken Bellegarde, Collioure, and Port Vendre. On the Rhine, the allies had the best of the campaign. After an obstinate siege, Mayence surrendered to the Prussians (July 22,) who beat Moreau at Pirmasens (Sept. 14,) though they failed in the siege of Landau. An army of the allies, 80,000 strong, commanded by Wurmser and the Duke of Brunswick, forced the lines at Wissemburg (Oct. 13,) and penetrated nearly as far as Strasburg ; but General Pichegru, who had taken the command of the French army, obliged Wurmser to repass the Rhine (Dec. 30.) The Prussians maintained themselves on the left bank of that river, between Oppenheim and Bergen.

In France, the revolutionists were divided into three parties. The *Committee of Public Safety*, at the head of which was Robespierre, supported by the club of Jacobins, governed with an absolute power. Hebert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, a native of Prussia, and the other members of the Commune of Paris, formed a second party ; more violent than the first, but contemptible from the character of the individuals who composed it. The third, comprehended Danton, Desmoulins, Herault de Sechelles, and others, who stood in awe of Robespierre, and were terrified by the extravagant fury of these bandits. The faction of the Commune was the first that was annihilated by the temporary union of the other two parties (March 24, 1794.) After that, Robespierre found little difficulty in sending Danton and his friends to the scaffold (April 5;) but in a short time some of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, and the remains of the Girondist party, conspired against him. In order to please the people, he abolished the worship of Reason (May 7,) and caused the Convention to proclaim the existence of a Supreme Being (June 8;) he introduced a new religion, that of Deism, of which he created himself high-priest.

The power of Robespierre was now in its apogee, and his

downfall approached. As the revolutionary tribunal was not sufficiently expeditious in despatching those whom he had marked out for destruction, he passed a decree (June 10,) by which an unlimited authority was vested in that tribunal. This opened the eyes of his enemies in the Convention; and, not doubting that they were doomed to death, they conspired the ruin of the tyrant. Tallien and Billaud Varennes were the first that attacked him before the tribunal. Having repeatedly attempted to defend himself, he was prevented by the voice of the Assembly, crying, "Down with the tyrant!" At length, repulsed and dispirited, he allowed himself to be arrested. Having found means, however, to escape from the guard, he saved himself in the midst of the Commune, which was composed of those who had adhered to him after the fall of Hébert. Both sides took to arms; Robespierre and his faction were outlawed, but they showed little courage. Finding themselves undone, they endeavoured to escape the swords of the enemy, by despatching themselves. Robespierre attempted self-destruction, but he only broke his jaw-bone with a pistol shot. He was executed, with twenty-one of his accomplices (July 28, 1794.) Eighty-three others met the same fate in course of the two following days; from that time the reign of terror was at an end, and thousands of innocent persons were liberated from the prisons. His dominion, however, was not yet discontinued; and the career of this Convention, from its beginning to its dissolution, was marked by a series of cruelties and oppressions.

The campaign of 1794 was triumphant for the French arms. Pichegru commanded the army of the North, and Jourdan that of the Sambre and the Meuse. The Duke of Coburg had at first the command of the Austrian army; but towards the end of the campaign, he transferred it to Clairfait. The King of Prussia, become disgusted with the war, had threatened to withdraw his grand army from the Rhine, and to leave only his contingent as a prince of the Empire, and the 20,000 men which he was bound to furnish Austria, in virtue of the alliance of 1792. But England and Holland being engaged, by a convention signed at the Hague, to furnish him with supplies, he promised to retain 62,400 men under arms against France. They were under the command of Field-Marshal Mellendorff. The taking of Charleroi by Jourdan, and the battle of Fleurus, which he gained over the Duke of Coburg (June 26,) decided the fate of the Netherlands. After some movements in conjunction with the army of the Upper Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Saxe-Teschen,—movements which had but little success, from the want of agreement among the generals,—Clairfait, at the

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head of the Austrian army, retired, about the end of the year, on the right bank of the Rhine, followed by Mellendorff, whom the French had never been able to bring into action.

The army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Dugommier, gained a splendid victory at Ceret over General La Union (April 30,) and retook Bellegarde. The two generals of the army were slain at Monte-Nero, where, after a battle of three days, the Spaniards were repulsed by Perignon (Nov. 27.) The French took Figuières (Feb. 4,) and Roses about two months after. The western army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Muller, entered Spain, took Fontarabia and St. Sebastian (Aug. 1, 11,) beat the Spaniards at Pampeluna (Nov. 8,) and spread terror to the very gates of Madrid. After the reduction of Toulon, the English fleet, under Admiral Howe, being invited into Corsica by Paoli, took possession of that island (June 18,) which submitted to Britain as an independent kingdom. The French fleet, under Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, was defeated off Ushant by Admiral Howe (June 1.) Most of the French colonies had already fallen into the power of the English.

General Pichegru, favoured by the rigour of winter, and the intrigues of the party opposed to the House of Orange, had made himself master, almost without striking a blow, of the United Provinces of the Netherlands (Jan. 1795,) where the Patriots had re-established the ancient constitution, such as it had been before the year 1788; the office of Stadtholder being again abolished, as the Prince of Orange, after being deprived of all his functions, had fled to England. France concluded a treaty with this Republic at the Hague (May 16,) where the independence of the latter was formally acknowledged. She entered also into an alliance against England; paid one hundred millions of florins; and ceded a part of her territory. It was at this time (June 8, 1795,) that the royal Infant Louis XVII., only son of Louis XVI., died in the Temple, in consequence of the bad treatment which he had endured incessantly for nearly three years. His uncle, who had assumed the title of Regent about the beginning of 1793, succeeded him in his right to the throne. That Prince, who then resided at Verona, took the title of Louis XVIII.

After the battles of Mans and Savenay, and the taking of Noirmoutier, the Vendéans had found themselves greatly exhausted. But at the time of which we now speak, they formed themselves into bands of insurgents in Brittany and Normandy, under the name of *Chouans*. After the death of Larochejacquelin, Charette and Sapineau concluded a peace with the Convention at Jausnaie (Feb. 17, 1795.) Cormartin, the leader of the Chouans,

did the same at Mabilais; but, a few weeks after, the Convention caused him to be arrested and shot, with seven other chiefs. This was the signal for a new insurrection. The English government at length resolved to send assistance to the Royalists. A body of emigrants and French prisoners of war were landed in the Bay of Quiberon (June 18.) But the whole of the expedition was badly managed, and had a most disastrous result. General Hoche attacked the troops on their debarkation. The greater part might have saved themselves on board the vessels, but the Marquis de Sombreuil, and five hundred and sixty young men of the best families, were taken and shot by order of Tallien (June 21,) in spite of the opposition of General Hoche, who declared that he had promised to spare their lives.

In the National Convention, two parties were contending for the superiority; the Thermidorians or Moderates, and the Terrorists. The inhabitants of Paris, reduced to despair by the dearth which the *maximum* had caused, and instigated by the Jacobins, had several times revolted, especially on the days of the 12th Germinal (April 1,) and the 1st Prairial (May 20.) The moderate party, strengthened by the accession of many of the deputies proscribed since the 2d June 1793, gained the victory; and purged the Convention, by banishing or putting to death the most execrable of the Terrorists. They even conciliated, in some respects, the opinion of the public, by drawing up a new constitution (June 23,) which might appear wise and judicious compared with the maxims which had been disseminated for several years. Its fundamental elements were a Legislative Body, composed of two elective chambers; one of which was to have the originating of the laws, and the other, composed of men of judgment and experience, was to be invested with a *veto*. The executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a Council of five persons, clothed with an authority greater than that which the Constitution of 1791 had given to the King. The Convention passed several other laws, which indicated a desire to return to the principles of morality. They also resolved to exchange Madame Royale, the only remains of the family of Louis XVI., for the deputies delivered up by Dumouriez. But they lost again the affections of the people, by their laws of the 5th and 13th Fructidor of the year Three, (Aug. 22, & 30, 1795.) Premonished by the fault which the Constituent Assembly had committed, in prohibiting its members from entering into the Legislative Body, and wishing, at the same time, to escape punishment for the many crimes they had committed, they ordained that two-thirds of the members then composing the Convention, should, of necessity, become a part of the new Le-

gislation; and that if the Primary Assemblies did not re-appoint five hundred of the ex-conventional deputies, the newly elected members should themselves complete the quota, by adding a sufficient number of their ancient colleagues.

The New Constitution had been submitted for the approbation of the people, which they doubted not it would receive, as it was to deliver France from the revolutionary faction. The Convention took advantage of this disposition of the people, to compel the Sections likewise to accept the two decrees, by declaring them an integral part of the Constitution. But this attempt was the occasion of new troubles. The Sections of Paris wished to vote separately on the Constitution, and on the decrees which, in that case, would have been rejected over all France; the moderate party of the Convention, if we can honour them with that name, joined with the Terrorists. Perceiving the storm to be gathering, they now sought assistance and support from the troops whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. They armed a large body of men, at the head of which was Bonaparte, who gained a sanguinary victory over the Parisians, on the 13th Vendemiaire, in the year Three (October 5th, 1795.) The desire to restore the Bourbons had been the secret motive with the chiefs of the insurrection.

A new Legislative Body assembled, which might be regarded as a continuation of the Convention; so long at least as the five hundred deputies of the Convention were not excluded, who sat in consequence of the annual renewals of one-third of its members. The Executive Directory, appointed by the Council of the Ancients from a list presented by the Council of Five Hundred, consisted of Lareveillere-Lepeaux, Rewbel, Barras, Le Tourneur, and Carnôt, who had replaced Sieyes,—this member having declined to make one of the Directory—the whole five being Regicides. The forms of Terrorism were mitigated in some respects, but the morals of the administration gained nothing by the change. The reign of the Directory was an era of corruption and dissoluteness, whose effects were long felt. An unbounded avarice seized the nation, and the Directory encouraged and fed that shameful passion, by lending itself to the most infamous traffic. Men coveted the nobility of riches, rather than that of honour and birth.

The Directory had to struggle against two inconveniences; the one was the spirit of rebellion, which induced the Terrorists to form a conspiracy among themselves,—such as that of Druet and Babeuf (May 10, 1796,) and that which is known by the name of the Conspiracy of the Camp at Grenoble (Sept. 9.) The other inconvenience was still more serious, namely, the

embarrassed state of the finances. The quantity of assignats thrown into circulation, amounted to 18,933,500,000 francs. To reduce this sum, they decreed a loan of 600,000,000 in specie. This measure proving ineffectual, the assignats were replaced by another sort of paper-money, viz. *rescriptions*; and finally by *mandates*. But both of these were discredited; the former after being issued, and the latter even before they were put into effective circulation, on the ground that it would be found necessary to withdraw them altogether from circulation. The State thus became bankrupt for thirty-nine thousand millions of francs. It then became necessary to have recourse to a system of regular imposts, which the people had not been accustomed to pay.

The Executive Directory had succeeded in putting an end to the war in La Vendée. This success was owing to the firmness and moderation of General Hoche. Stofflet was betrayed, and shot at Angers (Feb. 25, 1796.) Charette who had fallen into the hands of the Republicans, met with the same fate at Nantes soon after. His death put an end to the war (March 29.) The Count d'Autichamp, and the other Vendean Generals, signed a treaty of peace with Hoche. George Cadoudal, the leader of the Chouans, fled to England.

At first, from the accession of a third of the members of the two legislative councils, the moderate party gained the ascendancy. On M. Berthelemy's being appointed to the Directory, there arose a schism between Lareveillere-Lepeaux, Rewbel, and Barras, who were called the Triumvirs, and Carnôt and Berthelemy, who were inclined for peace, and for putting an end to the measures of the Revolution. The triumvirate lost the majority in the Council, where Pichegru had put himself at the head of the moderate party, who hoped to restore the monarchy. Royalism, assisted by the liberty of the press which France then enjoyed, had made such progress as frightened the triumvirs. They thought themselves sure of the army, so easy to be seduced when they are allowed to deliberate; and especially of Bonaparte. They then performed the exploit, which is known by the name of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4.) Sixty-five deputies, and the two Directors, Berthelemy and Carnot, were condemned to transportation; and such of them as were apprehended, were banished to the deserts of Sinamari in Guiana. The last named deputies of the two Councils were expelled; and the moderate laws, issued three months before, were superseded by revolutionary measures. The authors, editors, and printers of royalist or moderate Journals, were also transported; the liberty of the press was abolished, and continued so in France from that time till 1814. Merlin, a lawyer o

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Douay, was appointed to the place of one of the exiled Directors, and the poet Francois, a native of Neuchâteau in Lorrain, to that of another.

Here, it will be proper to take a retrospect of the events of the war. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first that set the example of a reconciliation with France, which was signed at Paris, (Feb. 9, 1795.) The King of Prussia, whose finances were exhausted, entered into a negotiation with Berthelemey, the Republican ambassador, which was concluded at Basle by Baron Hardenberg, (April 5.) Prussia not only abandoned the coalition; she even guaranteed the neutrality of the North of Germany, according to a line of demarcation which was fixed by a special convention, (May 17.) The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel likewise made peace at Basle, (Aug. 28th.)

The retreat of the Prussians on the one hand, and the scarcity which prevailed in France on the other, had retarded the opening of the campaign of 1795. Field Marshal Bender having reduced Luxembourg, after a siege of eight months, and a plentiful harvest having once more restored abundance, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, and that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Pichegru, passed the Rhine. The former, being beat at Hochst by Clairfait, (Oct. 11,) repassed that river in disorder; and Mayence, then under siege, was relieved. Pichegru, who had taken Mannheim, (Sept. 22,) retreated in like manner, and General Wurmser retook that city. An armistice was concluded on the last day of the year.

In Italy the French were expelled from Piedmont and the States of Genoa, which they had invaded; but the victory which Scherer gained over de Vins at Lovano (Nov. 23,) was a prelude to greater advantages, which they gained in course of next year.

In Spain, Moncey gained the battle of Ormea, and occupied Bilboa. But the peace which the Chevalier Yriarte signed at Basle, (July 6,) put an end to his conquests. The King of Spain ceded to the Republic his part of the Island of St. Domingo. Lord Bridport defeated the French fleet off L'Orient, (June 23, 1795,) which intended to oppose the debarkation of the emigrants at Quiberon. The coalition, which the retirement of Prussia and Spain had threatened to dissolve, gained fresh strength by several new alliances, such as that of Vienna, between Austria and Great Britain, (May 20,) and the Triple Alliance of St. Petersburg, (Sept. 28.)

The campaign of 1796, was glorious for the French arms in Italy. Napoleon Bonaparte was there, at the head of an army destitute of every thing except courage. By a series of vic-

stories which he gained at Montenotte, Dego, Millesimo, Ceva, and Mondovi, over the Austrian General Beaulieux, and the Sardinian General Colli, he obliged the King of Sardinia to sign a truce at Cherasco, (April 28,) by which he surrendered up three fortresses. Bonaparte passed the Po at Placentia; granted a truce on very disadvantageous terms to the Duke of Parma; and forced the passage of the Bridge of Lodi, (May 9.) The fate of Lombardy was decided. Cremona and Pizzighitone opened their gates to the conqueror, (May 14,) who soon made his entry into Milan. The Duke of Modena obtained a suspension of arms. The King of Sardinia agreed to sign a peace at Paris, by which he surrendered Savoy and the district of Nice. The terror of the French arms was so great, that the King of Naples promised to remain neutral, by a convention which he concluded at Brescia (June 5.) The Pope also obtained neutrality, by the armistice of Bologna, (June 28,) but on conditions exceedingly severe. Though the war had ceased in Tuscany, a body of French troops occupied Leghorn, (June 28,) to seize the English merchandise in that port.

The Court of Vienna was resolved to make every effort to save Mantua, the only place which remained to them in Italy. At the head of 50,000 fresh troops, Wurmser marched from the Tyrol, broke the French lines on the Adige, (July 31,) and compelled Bonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua. The latter General encountered the Austrians, and beat them at Castiglione; without however, being able to prevent Wurmser from throwing fresh supplies into Mantua. This place was invested a second time; and a second time the Austrian army marched to its relief. While Bonaparte was engaged with Davidovitch at Roveredo, (Sept. 4,) and Massena pushing on as far as Trent, Wurmser marched in all haste towards Mantua. Bonaparte suddenly directed his course against him, vanquished him in several battles, and compelled him to throw himself, with the wreck of his army into the fortress (Sept. 15.) After this event, the King of the Two Sicilies, and the Duke of Parma, signed a definitive peace at Paris; and the Republic of Genoa concluded a treaty, (Oct. 9,) by which it retained at least the appearance of independence. Austria tried a third time to relieve Mantua. Two armies under the command of Alvinzi and Davidovitch marched, the one from Friuli, and the other from the Tyrol. The former was encountered by Bonaparte, who defeated them in a sanguinary action at Arcole, (Nov. 17.) Immediately he directed his march against the other, and beat them at Rivoli, (Nov. 21.)

While matters were thus passing in Italy, the army of the

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Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, had several engagements with the Archduke-Charles, brother of the Emperor, on the Sieg and the Lahn. Moreau, at the head of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, passed the Rhine at Strasburg, and gained several advantages over the army which Wurmser had commanded at the beginning of the campaign; he concluded truces with the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Circle of Swabia, who supplied him with money and provisions, (July,) and penetrated into Bavaria, the Elector of which was also obliged to submit to very rigorous conditions, (Sept. 7,) to obtain a suspension of arms. Jourdan, on his side, having also passed the Rhine, marched through Franconia, as far as the Upper Palatinate. The Archduke-Charles, who, since the departure of Wurmser for Italy, had been at the head of all the Austrian armies in Germany, retired before so great a superiority of numbers, and drew near to the quarter whence he expected the arrival of reinforcements. He immediately fell on the undisciplined army of Jourdan, defeated them at Amberg, (Aug. 24,) and Wurzburg, (Sept. 3;) and put them so completely to the rout, that they were obliged to repass the Rhine (Sept. 19.) This disaster compelled Moreau to make his retreat; in effecting which, he displayed the talents of a great general. After a number of engagements, in which he was more frequently the conqueror than conquered, he brought back his army to Huningen, (Oct. 26,) where they passed the Rhine. That fortress and Kehl were the only points on the right bank of the Rhine which remained in the possession of the French.

The Cabinet of London, finding that Spain had declared war against her (Aug. 19,) according to the treaty of St. Ildefonso which allied her strictly with France; and moreover, seeing Ireland threatened with an invasion, ordered the British troops to evacuate the island of Corsica, (Oct. 21,) of which the French took possession. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lille to negotiate a peace (Oct. 24,) which he was not able to obtain, because the conditions were not agreeable to the three Directors who formed the majority. The attempts which the French made to land in Ireland (Dec. 22,) under Admiral Morard de Galles, and General Hoche, proved unsuccessful.

In 1797, the Austrians made a fourth attempt to save Mantua. Alvinzi arrived with 80,000 men; but after several bloody engagements, this army was dispersed, and old Wurmser was compelled to surrender Mantua by capitulation (Feb. 2.) Bonaparte, who had broken his truce with the Pope, invaded the Ecclesiastical States; but being menaced in the rear by a new Austrian army, he again made peace with his Holiness at To-

lentino (Feb. 19.) The Pope, besides renouncing Avignon and the Venaissin, ceded also Ferrara, Bologna and Romagna. The new Austrian army in Italy was commanded by the Archduke-Charles; but not being able to cope with that of Bonaparte in pitched battle, the Archduke retired through the Tyrol and Carinthia into Stiria, where he was followed by the French General. This precipitate march threw the French army into a situation highly perilous; since, besides the want of provisions, they were menaced in the rear by an insurrection of the Tyrol, and the arms of the Venetian Republic. Bonaparte then offered peace, which was accepted by the Cabinet of Vienna, and signed at Leoben (April 18, 1797,) the same day that Hoche passed the Rhine at Neuwied; and two days after Moreau had passed that river at Strasburg.

The preliminaries at Leoben were honourable for Austria. She renounced, it is true, Belgium and all her possessions in Italy, as far as the Oglio; but she was indemnified by a considerable part of the Venetian territory, as well as by Istria and Dalmatia; for which the Republic were to receive Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna; Peschiera and Mantua were to be surrendered to the Emperor. France recognised the principle, that the integrality of the Empire was to be the basis of a pacification with the Germanic Body. Immediately after the peace of Leoben, Bonaparte, without having received orders, overturned the Venetian Republic, and caused his troops to occupy that city (May 16.) He united the provinces of Lombardy which Austria had ceded, into a Republic, on the model of that of France (June 29;) and this new State was called the *Cisalpine Republic*. He obliged the Genoese to change their government, and to constitute themselves into the *Ligurian Republic* (June 6.)

The negotiations for a definitive peace were long in coming to a conclusion. Bonaparte regretted having promised the restitution of Mantua; and the three Jacobin members of the Directory, who were displeased with the terms on which the peace with Germany was to be founded, began to intrigue for the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; and with this view, to protract the conclusion of the peace, until the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor should gain their party the assendancy. The negotiations with Lord Malmesbury were immediately broken off; and Bonaparte threatened to resume hostilities, unless Austria would accept the conditions dictated by the New Directory. Peace was at length concluded at Campo Formio near Udina, (Oct. 17,) by Buonaparte, and Count Louis de Cobenzl. The two parties divided between them, it is said, the whole territory of the Republic of Venice; so that the Adige should be

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the frontier on the Continent of Italy, while the Venetian Islands, on the coast of Albania and Turkey, should belong to France. Austrian Lombardy, with Peschiera and Mantua, the Modenois, and the Venetian territory to the west of the Adige, and the three Legatines of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, were to form the Cisalpine Republic. A Congress for a treaty of peace with the Empire was to be opened at Rastadt. By certain secret articles, the Emperor consented eventually to the perpetual and complete cession of the left bank of the Rhine; and stipulated for himself the possession of Salzburg, in case of a partial cession; and greater advantages, provided the whole left bank of the Rhine were abandoned to France. The States of Germany, who might suffer loss by the partial or total cession of the left bank of the Rhine, were to receive indemnification in Germany, as was expressed in the treaty. A compensation was to be allowed to the Prince of Orange; but this was not to take place in the neighbourhood of the Batavian Republic, nor in that of the Austrian possessions. Prussia was to preserve her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; but she was to claim no new acquisitions in Germany.

The Directory were not equally satisfied with all the articles of this treaty; but they durst not disavow the negotiator, who had assisted in accomplishing the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor. The French government were displeased with the increase of power granted to Austria, and especially with the dismemberment of Bavaria, which Rewbel, who piqued himself on his political abilities, regarded with reason as contrary to the interests of France. Moreover, the articles relative to Prussia and the Prince of Orange were in direct opposition to the Convention of Berlin, (1794,) which was the basis of the existing unanimity between Prussia and France. By that Convention the Bishopric of Munster was made over to the King, by way of reimbursement for his possessions beyond the Rhine; while the House of Orange was to have Wurtzburg and Bamberg. These circumstances obliged the Directory to conceal from the Court of Berlin the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio; and this constraint greatly embarrassed them, by the mistrust which it excited on the part of Prussia.

General Bonaparte, with Trielhard and Bonnier, members of the Convention, were appointed to negotiate at Rastadt with the deputation of the Empire. Bonaparte made only a short stay there, to sign a secret convention with Count Louis de Cobenzl, (Dec. 1;) according to which Mayence was to be restored to the troops of the French Republic, in fulfilment of what had been resolved on at Campo Formio. The object which the French

negotiators proposed, was to obtain the entire cession of the left bank of the Rhine, free from all charges; and to obtain it without being obliged to purchase it at the price which Bonaparte had promised to Austria. The means for attaining the object were, to secure the consent of the majority of the deputation, and the agreement of Prussia, and then to prevail with the latter to object to the dismemberment of Bavaria—a measure which would compel France to reveal the secret negotiations at Campo Formio. The first proposition on which these ministers demanded the cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, became the subject of a tedious negotiation, alternately promoted and thwarted by a thousand intrigues. At length the deputation admitted it (March 1798,) but under restrictions which the ministers were determined to reject. The latter then proposed as a second basis, the indemnification of the princes in possession of the left bank of the Rhine; which was adopted without much difficulty (March 15.) The third demand referred to the manner of carrying the fundamental articles into execution. On this ground the French advanced a multitude of pretensions, each more unjust and more ridiculous than the other.

Until then the negotiations, in all probability, were serious on the part of Austria and France; as the former, supported by Russia, hoped to obtain the consent of Prussia to the dismemberment of Bavaria; while France, on her side, vainly anticipated a strict alliance with the Cabinet of Berlin, which would have enabled the Directory to have dictated its own conditions of peace. But, towards the middle of the year, war had become inevitable, in consequence of the numerous aggressions which the Executive Directory had committed in different countries. To them war had become necessary to occupy their armies. The continuation of the Congress at Rastadt, therefore, served merely to gain time to prepare for hostilities. If the Court of Vienna had flattered themselves, that the Cisalpine Republic would form an independent State, they were undeceived by the treaty of alliance with France which that Republic was obliged to accept, in spite of the determined refusal of the Council of Ancients. It was, in reality, a treaty of subjection, by which, among other articles, it was stipulated that there should always be 25,000 French troops in the Cisalpine States, for the support of which they should pay eighteen millions per annum.

A tumult having happened at Rome, in which one of the French generals was killed, the Directory made this a pretext for invading the Ecclesiastical States. General Berthier proclaimed the Roman Republic (Feb. 15, 1798;) and Pope Pius

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VI. was carried captive to France where he died, (Aug. 29, 1799.)

The Directory, from no just motive, excited a revolution in Switzerland; and under pretence of being invited by one of the parties, they sent troops into that country (Jan. 26;) overturned the existing order of things; and under the title of the *Helvetic Republic*, they established a government entirely subject on their authority (April 11.) A piece of imprudence, committed by the French ambassador at Vienna, was the cause of a popular commotion there; in consequence of which he quitted his situation. This event made a great noise. It gave rise to the conferences which took place at Seltz in Alsace (April 13,) between the Ex-Director Francois and Count De Cobenzl; in which France and Austria tried, for the last time, if it were possible to come to a proper understanding regarding their mutual interests. These conferences had no other effect than to convince the Court of Vienna, that they must turn the current of their politics into a new channel.

A French fleet, commanded by Admiral Breueix, sailed from Toulon (May 19,) with General Bonaparte and 40,000 men. When they arrived off Malta, Bonaparte got possession of that island by means of a capitulation, signed in name of the order of St. John (June 12,) by some of the knights who had disclaimed all submission to the Grand Master and the Assembly of the States. From Malta the French fleet sailed with a fair wind for Egypt, and landed at Alexandria (July 2,) to undertake the conquest of that country; although France was then at peace with the Porte. The English fleet, however, under Admiral Nelson, which had gone in quest of the French, joined them off Alexandria, and defeated them in an action which was fought in the bay of Aboukir (Aug. 1,) and which lasted thirty-six hours.

Charles Emanuel IV., King of Sardinia, insulted in every kind of way by the French generals, and by his neighbours the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, resolved to shelter himself from these annoyances under the protection of the Directory. He had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France (April 5, 1797;) but the latter having demanded a new pledge of his friendship, he concluded a convention at Milan, by which the French government granted him their protection; on condition that he would surrender to them the capital of his capital.

The events which we have now detailed gave rise to a second coalition against France, which was entered into by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, the Porte, and the Two Sicilies. The two first of these powers promised to support the rest; Britain furnishing supplies, and Russia auxiliary troops. Before taking up arms, the Cabinet of Vienna attempted to conciliate that of Berlin,

with the view of compelling France to moderate some of her claims. Negotiations were accordingly entered into at Berlin, at first between the two powers alone, and afterwards under the mediation of the Emperor Paul of Russia. But in order to obtain a mutual co-operation, it was necessary to begin by establishing mutual confidence. This was impossible, as each of the Cabinets had its own secret, which it would not communicate to the other. Prussia had her own treaty of the 1st of August 1796; and Austria her secret articles of Campo Formio. The circumstance which determined the Emperor Paul to take a part in the war against France, was the indignation which he felt at the spoliation of the Knights of Malta, whom he had taken under his protection, and afterwards accepted the office of Grand Master of the Order.

This coalition was formed by treaties of alliance between the several parties respectively. Russia agreed to send an army of 60,000 men, under Suwarow, to the Danube, and to furnish Prussia with 45,000, to be paid by Great Britain.

After the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, the Executive Directory of the French Republic had to struggle against the general discontent, as well as against the disordered state of the finances, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, whose influence they had imprudently augmented, hoping, by their means, to annihilate the party of the opposition. That faction would infallibly have affected a counter-revolution in France, had not the Directory, by a stretch of arbitrary power, annulled the elections of 1798. The want of funds, which was always growing worse, had retarded the renewal of the war; but when it broke out, the Directory adopted a measure which we ought not to pass in silence, as it has exercised a lasting influence on all the States of Europe, who were obliged to follow the example. We allude to the law which introduced the military conscription (Sept. 5, 1798,) and which was the work of General Jourdan.

The Coalition was not yet consolidated, and Austria had not yet finished her preparations for war, when the King of the Two Sicilies, instigated by a party who wished to urge the Cabinet of Vienna to greater despatch, commenced hostilities, by expelling the French from Rome (Nov. 24.) That enterprise failed of success. The Neapolitan troops, who were commanded by a foreigner, General Baron de Mack, showed neither discipline nor courage. After this first repulse, the King took shelter in Sicily. His capital became a prey to the most frightful anarchy. Mack, to save his life, deserted to the enemy. The Lazzaroni defended Naples against the French army, and it was not till after a battle of three days, that Championnet, who was at their head, succeeded in getting possession of the city: after which he



Bonaparte crossing the Alps. Vol. 2, p. 174.



Fall of Kosciuszko. Vol. 2, p. 194.

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proclaimed the *Parthenopean Republic* (Jan. 25.) General Joubert took possession of Turin; and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French.

The Executive Directory made these hostile preparations of the King of the Two Sicilies a pretext for declaring war against the King of Sardinia (Dec. 6, 1798,) who was in alliance with France. General Joubert having already advanced into Piedmont, Charles Emanuel IV. signed an act, drawn up by General Clauzel, by which he renounced the exercise of all power, and commanded his subjects to obey the provisional government which the French were about to establish. He afterwards retired into Sardinia, where he protested against the violence which he had experienced.

The Congress of Rastadt had continued their sittings. On the 6th December 1798, the French plenipotentiaries gave in their *ultimatum* on the third proposition relative to the mode of carrying into execution the two fundamental articles agreed to; with a threat to quit Rastadt unless it was accepted within six days. The majority of the deputation, who were not initiated into the secrets of great cabinets, and who were importuned by a crowd of princes, nobles, and deputies under the influence either of interest or terror, accepted this ultimatum; against which Austria, Saxony, and Hanover voted. The plenipotentiary of the Empire ratified it; probably because the Court of Vienna, who were on the point of abrogating every thing that had passed at Rastadt, did not think it necessary to enter into any discussion on that subject. This finished the operations of the Congress. From that moment, the French plenipotentiaries did nothing but complain of the march of the Russian troops, who in effect had penetrated into Galicia, and were approaching the Danube. The deputation, whose distinctive character was pusillanimity, confirmed these complaints in presence of the Emperor (Jan. 4, 1799,) who, however, eluded giving any positive answer, until the whole of his measures were organized. A French army, commanded by Jourdan, passed the Rhine, between Strasburg and Basle. The Congress, nevertheless, continued to sit until the 7th April, when it was dissolved by Count Metternich, who annulled all its decisions.

The 28th of April was a day memorable in the annals of modern history. Some of the Austrian Hussars, within a quarter of a league of Rastadt, assassinated the French ministers Bonnier, Debry, and Roberjot, who were on their return to Paris. That deed was not authorized by the Executive Directory, although it was attributed to them because they had actually turned it to their advantage, by exciting the public mind which had

already declared itself against the war ; neither was it authorized by any cabinet, or commander of the army. Its real author has never been officially made known.

The French Republic had already declared war against the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany (March 12, 1799,) without any apparent motive. But, before this declaration was made, the campaign had already opened in Switzerland, where General Massena had dislodged the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, which they had occupied in consequence of a treaty with the Republicans, concluded at Coire (Oct. 7, 1798.) The Archduke Charles, at the head of the main Austrian army, acquitted himself gloriously. He defeated Jourdan in several pitched battles at Pullendorf and Stockach (March 20, 25,) and compelled the army of the Danube, as it was called, to repass the Rhine. The remains of Jourdan's army were then united to that of Massena.

In Italy, while General Macdonald, who had succeeded Championnet in the command, was covering Rome and Naples, General Gauthier occupied Florence. Sherer, at the head of the army of Italy, was defeated by Kray at Legnago (March 25,) Roco (30,) and Verona (April 5.) It was at this time that Suwarow arrived in Italy with the Russians, and took the chief command of the combined army. Moreau, who with a noble resignation had taken on himself the interim command of the French army in its present discouraging circumstances, was defeated at Cassano (April 27,) and retired to Alessandria. It was of great importance for Suwarow to prevent Macdonald, who had arrived at Naples, from joining Moreau. But the two French generals manœuvred so dexterously, that this junction took place ; although Macdonald had been attacked by Suwarow near the Trebia (June 17,) where he sustained a considerable loss. The whole of Lombardy fell into the hands of the Allies. Mantua likewise capitulated. Joubert, who had been appointed General of the army of Italy, had scarcely arrived when he offered battle to Suwarow near Novi (Aug. 15;) but he was slain near the commencement of the action. Moreau, who had continued with the army as a volunteer, could not prevent the general rout. Championnet, who succeeded Joubert, was not more fortunate. Coni, the last place in their possession, having been taken (Dec. 3,) the French retired within the Apennines.

The Archduke Charles having marched into Switzerland, Massena took up a strong position on the Aar and the Reuss. The hopes which they had entertained of bringing over Prussia to the coalition having entirely failed, it was agreed between

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Great Britain and Russia (June 29,) that the army of 45,000 men which the latter had eventually promised to place at the disposal of the King of Prussia if he became a party in the war, should henceforth be employed against France in Switzerland. Accordingly these troops, who were commanded by Prince Korsakoff, having arrived on the Limmat, the Archduke joined to them 30,000 Austrians; while with the rest of his troops he marched towards the Rhine, where a new French army had occupied Heidelberg and Mannheim. The Archduke compelled them to repossess the river, and took Mannheim by assault (Sept. 18.)

After the battle of Novi, Suwarow quitted Italy with the Russians whose number was now reduced to 24,000 men, to march on the Limmat, and take the command of the allied army in Switzerland. Massena, who was anxious to prevent this junction, attacked Korsakoff, and defeated him near Zurich (Sept. 24;) which obliged him to evacuate Switzerland. Suwarow, whose march across the Alps had now become very dangerous, accomplished it nevertheless with boldness and celerity; and although he had to encounter Lecourbe who wished to intercept him, and afterwards Massena who was in pursuit of him, he crossed the small cantons of the Grisons, and effected a union with the remains of Korsakoff's army.

The Roman and Parthenopean Republics had fallen to pieces after the departure of Macdonald. Ancona, where he had left a body of troops, did not surrender until the 29th of November. The combined fleets of the Turks and Russians, about the end of the year 1798, had taken possession of the French islands that had formerly belonged to the Venetians. Corfu held out till the 1st of March 1799. The Archduke Charles having advanced on Switzerland after the defeat of Korsakoff, Lecourbe, who had been called to the command of the army of Alsace, passed the Rhine; but he was soon after compelled to return to the left bank of that river.

In virtue of a convention which was concluded at St. Petersburg (June 22,) the Emperor Paul, in addition to the 105,000 men which he had already despatched, engaged to furnish 17,500 more. These with 12,000 English, under the command of the Duke of York, attempted to make a descent on Holland, and landed at Helder. This expedition proved a total failure. The Duke of York, after having been worsted in several engagements with General Brune evacuated the country, in consequence of a capitulation signed at Alkmaar (Oct. 18, 1799.) These disasters were but feebly compensated by the taking of Surinam (Aug. 16,) the last of the Dutch colonies which fell into the hands of the English.

While these events were transacting in Europe, Bonaparte had subdued the greater part of Egypt; but he was less successful in the expedition which he undertook against Syria. Being obliged to raise the siege of Acre (May 19,) after sustaining considerable losses, he returned to Egypt with the feeble remains of his army. Shortly after (July 15,) a Turkish fleet appeared off Aboukir, and landed a body of troops, who took possession of that fort. Bonaparte directed his march against them, beat them, and almost totally annihilated them (July 25;) but being displeased at the Directory, who had left him without support, and having heard of their disorganization, he resolved to return to Europe. He embarked secretly (Aug. 23,) and landed at Frejus on the coast of Provence (Oct. 9, 1799.)

At the time of his arrival, France was in a state of the most violent commotion. The Council of Five Hundred was become more and more Jacobinical, in consequence of new elections. Sieyes, Gohier, Roger Ducos, and Moulins, with Barras, Director of the Ancients, formed the government. The revolutionary measures which were adopted by the Council, seemed a prelude to the return of Terror. Such was the law which authorized the Directory to take hostages among the relations of the emigrants (July 12;) and the loan of a hundred millions, which was decreed (Aug. 6.)

In the west, the Chouans had organized a new insurrection under the conduct of George Cadoudal and the Counts de Frotte, D'Autichamp, and de Bourmont. Disturbances had broken out in other provinces; the government had fallen into contempt; a general restlessness had taken possession of the public mind. Barras and Sieyes were perfectly conscious that this state of things could not continue. Each of them, separately, had contrived the plan of a new revolution; and each of them endeavoured to make a partisan of General Bonaparte, who had just arrived in Paris, and on whom the hopes of France seemed at that time to depend. The General deceived Barras, and entered into a conspiracy with Sieyes and the more powerful members of the Council of Ancients. On the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799,) the Council nominated Bonaparte commandant of the troops; abolished the Directory; and ordered the Legislative Assembly to be transferred to St. Cloud. The meeting which took place next day was a scene of great turbulence. Bonaparte ineffectually attempted to defend himself in the Council of Five Hundred, when the firmness of his brother Lucien and the grenadiers of the guard alone secured his safety. The Council was dissolved, and the constitution of the year Three abolished (Nov. 11.) A provisional government was established, consisting of

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Sieyes, Roger Ducos, and Bonaparte. A legislative commission of twenty-five members were charged to draw up the plan of a new constitution.

The new constitution was announced on the 22d of Frimaire, of the year Eight (13th Dec. 1799.) The republican forms were preserved; and the government, in appearance, was intrusted to a Council of three persons, appointed for ten years, and decorated with the title of Consuls, viz. Bonaparte, Cambaceres, and Le Brun; but in reality to the first only, on whom they conferred a power truly monarchical. The other constituted bodies were a Conservative Senate, contrived by Sieyes, to be the guardian of the public liberties; a Tribunal of one hundred members, whose business it was to discuss such forms of law as the government laid before them; and a Legislative Body of three hundred members, who gave their vote without any previous debate. Bonaparte seized the reins of government with a firm hand. He abrogated several of the revolutionary laws, amalgamated its different parts into a system, and by degrees organized the most complete despotism. He consolidated his power by quashing the insurrection in the West. By his orders, Generals Brune and Hedouville concluded a peace (Jan. 18, 1800,) first with the Vendéans at Montfauçon, and afterwards with the Chouans. He gave a most striking example of perfidy, by causing the brave Frotté to be shot a few days after. But he conciliated the affection of his *subjects* by the restoration of religion, which he established by means of a Concordat with the Court of Rome, (July 15, 1801.)

Bonaparte was no sooner placed at the head of the government, than he proposed to make peace with England, by means of a letter (Dec. 26, 1799,) not written, according to etiquette, by one of his ministers to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but in his own hand, and addressed to King George III., whom he complimented for his patriotic virtues. He stated the necessity for peace; and trusted, that two nations so enlightened as France and Great Britain, would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. This step, made in so unusual a form, could not possibly have a successful result, especially as Mr. Pitt was determined to employ all the resources of England to overthrow the revolutionary despotism which the First Consul was endeavouring to establish in France. That great statesman endeavoured, by the treaties of subsidy which we have already mentioned, to repair the loss which the coalition had just suffered by the retirement of Paul I., who being mortified with the bad success of the Russian arms, which he ascribed

to the allies themselves, had recalled his troops at the beginning of the year 1800.

General Melas, who commanded the Austrians in Italy, opened the campaign of 1800 in the most splendid manner. In consequence of the victory which he gained over Massena at Voltri (April 10,) the latter was obliged to throw himself into Genoa, where he sustained a siege of six weeks with great courage. Melas made himself master of Nice (May 11,) and Souchet passed the Var on his march to Provence. But, in a short time, Bonaparte, at the head of a new army which collected at Dijon, passed the Alps, and took possession of Milan (June 2;) while Melas was not yet aware that his army was in existence. Fortunately for the latter, Massena was obliged to surrender Genoa at that very time, (June 5,) which placed the corps of General Ott at his disposal. He had found it difficult, with his small garrison, to preserve order among the inhabitants, of whom 15,000 are said to have perished by famine or disease during the blockade. General Ott was defeated by Berthier at Montebello (June 9.) Melas himself engaged General Bonaparte at Marengo (June 14.) Victory was already within his grasp, when the arrival of the brave Desaix with his division, disappointed him of the triumph. The defeat had a most discouraging effect on General Melas, and cost Austria the whole of Lombardy. A truce which was concluded at Alessandria (June 16,) put Bonaparte in possession of that town; as well as of Tortona, Turin, Placentia, Coni, Genoa, &c. The Austrians retired beyond the Mincio.

Moreau, at the head of a French army, had passed the Rhine (April 25,) and defeated Kray in several engagements. The Austrians then retired within the Upper Palatinate. Moreau had already made himself master of Munich, when he received the news of the truce at Alessandria. He then concluded an armistice at Parsdorf (July 15.) The Count St. Julien, who had been sent by the Emperor Francis II. to Paris, having signed the preliminaries of peace without sufficient authority, the Court of Vienna refused to ratify them, as they had engaged not to make peace without the consent of England. Hostilities were to recommence in Germany in the month of September; but the Archduke John, who commanded the Austrian army in Bavaria, having requested that the armistice should be prolonged, General Moreau consented, on condition that Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, should be given up to him. This arrangement was signed at Hohenlinden (Sept. 20,) and France immediately demolished the fortifications of these two places. Hostilities having recommenced about the end of November, General Mo-

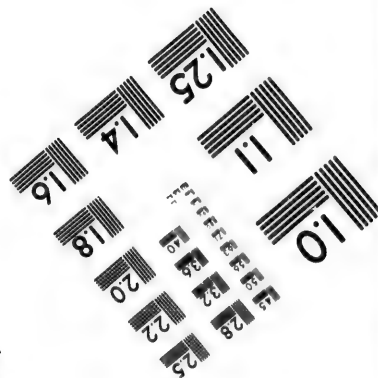
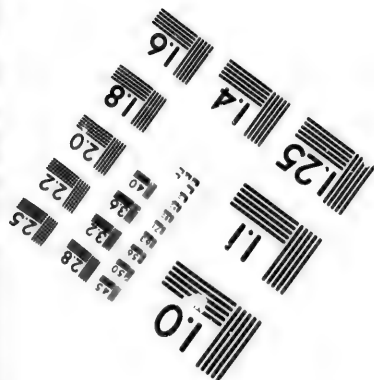
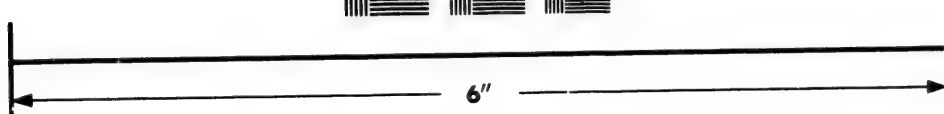
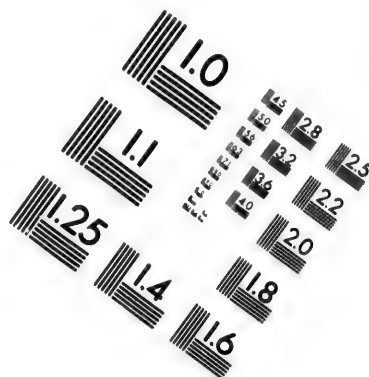
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reau defeated the army of the Archduke John, at the memorable battle of Hohenlinden (Dec. 3;) after which he marched in all haste on Vienna. Austria being released from her engagements by the Cabinet of London, then declared that she was determined to make peace, whatever might be the resolutions of England; on which a new armistice was concluded at Steyr (Dec. 25.) Braunau and Wurtzburg were delivered up to the French.

General Brune, who commanded in Italy, renewed the truce of Alessandria by the convention of Castiglione (Sept. 29,) and thus gained time to take possession of Tuscany, which they had forgot to include in the truce. Being reinforced by the army of Macdonald, who had arrived in Lombardy, he passed the Brenta; after traversing, by a perilous march, the lofty mountain of Splügen. In virtue of a new truce, signed at Treviso, the French obtained the recovery of Peschiera, the forts of Verona, Legnago, Fermo, and Ancona.

Meantime, negotiations for peace had been entered into at Luneville, between Joseph Bonaparte and Count Louis de Cobenzl. The First Consul having refused to ratify the armistice of Treviso, because it had left Mantua in the hands of the Austrians, the Imperial plenipotentiary at Luneville signed an additional convention, by which that place was delivered over to the French. Peace between Austria and France was signed a few days after (Feb. 9;) and Francis II., at the same time, made stipulations for the Empire. He ceded the Belgic provinces, the county of Falkenstein and Frickthal. In Italy, the frontier line between Austria and the Cisalpine Republic was traced, so that the Adige should separate the two States, and the cities of Verona and Porto Legnago should be divided between them. The other conditions were, that the Grand Duke of Modena should have Brisgau in exchange for his duchy; that the Grand Duke of Tuscany should renounce his grand duchy, and receive a free and competent indemnity in Germany; that the Empire should give up all the left bank of the Rhine; that the hereditary princes, who lost their territories in consequence of these cessions, should receive compensation from the Empire; and lastly, that the Germanic Body should ratify the peace within the space of thirty days. By a secret article, Saltzburg, Berchtolsgrad, Passau, the bishopric and city of Augsburg, Kempten, and twelve other immediate abbeys, besides nineteen Imperial cities in Swabia, including Ulm and Augsburg, were secured to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Empire showed great anxiety to ratify this peace, which was the precursor of its annihilation.

The English had compelled General Vaubois to surrender the Isle of Malta. After the flight of Bonaparte from Egypt, Kleber



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had taken the command of the French army, which was then reduced to 12,000 men. A convention was concluded at El Arisch with the Grand Vizier who had arrived from Syria at the head of a formidable army, by which the French General engaged to evacuate the country. The English government having refused to ratify this treaty, unless Kleber would surrender himself prisoner of war, that General immediately attacked the Grand Vizier, and defeated him at El Hanka (March 20;) after which he again subdued Cairo, which had raised the standard of revolt. The English Government were willing to ratify the convention of the 24th January; but General Menou having succeeded Kleber who had fallen by the dagger of a Turkish fanatic, was determined to maintain himself in Egypt, in spite of an evident impossibility. Sir Ralph Abercromby, the English commander, who arrived with a British force, effected his landing at Aboukir (March 8, 1801.) Menou was defeated in the battle of Rahmanieh, near Alexandria (March 21,) which cost General Abercromby his life. But the French soon saw themselves assailed on all hands by the Turks and the English, who had been recalled from the East Indies, and had disembarked on the shores of the Red Sea. General Belliard, who had the command at Cairo, concluded a capitulation (June 27,) in virtue of which he was sent back to France with the troops under his orders. Menou found himself obliged to follow his example, and capitulated at Alexandria to General Hutchinson (Aug. 30,) who consented to the safe conveyance of the French troops to their native country. Thus ended an expedition, which, had it proved successful, must have become fatal to the British Empire in India, and given a new direction to the commerce of the world.

Various treaties were concluded between the peace of Luneville and that of Amiens, which put an entire end to the war. (1.) General Murat, who commanded the army in Italy, having shown some disposition to carry the war into the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand IV. concluded an armistice at Foligno (Feb. 18,) which he afterwards converted into a treaty of peace at Florence. He gave up the State of Presidii, and his share of the island of Elba and of the principality of Piombino. By a secret article, he agreed that 16,000 French troops should occupy the peninsula of Otranto and part of Abruzzo, until the conclusion of peace with England and the Porte. (2.) Portugal, since the year 1797, had wished to withdraw from the first coalition, and even concluded a peace with the Executive Directory at Paris (Aug. 10;) but the English squadron of Admiral St. Vincent having entered the Tagus, the Queen refused to ratify that

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treaty. Portugal thus continued at war with France until 1801. The French army, which was already in Spain, having shown some disposition to enter Portugal, peace was concluded at Madrid between Lucien Bonaparte and M. Freire (Sept. 29.) the ministers of the two States at the Court of Spain. Portugal shut her ports against the English, and regulated the frontiers of Guiana, so as to prove advantageous to France. (3.) In Russia Bonaparte had succeeded to a certain extent in conciliating the good will of the Emperor Paul. Nevertheless, at the death of that prince (Oct. 8, 1801,) there existed no treaty of peace between Russia and France. A treaty, however, was signed at Paris in the reign of Alexander, by Count Markoff and Talleyrand (Oct. 11,) and followed by a very important special convention by which, among other things, it was agreed : That the two governments should form a mutual agreement, as to the principles to be followed with respect to indemnifications in Germany ; as well as to determine respecting those in Italy, and to maintain a just equilibrium between the Houses of Austria and Brandeburg : That France should accept the mediation of Prussia, for the pacification with the Porte : That the integrity of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be maintained, according to the treaty of the 29th March, 1801 ; and that the French troops should evacuate the country as soon as the fate of Egypt was decided : That a friendly disposition should be shown to the interests of the King of Sardinia ; and that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wurtemberg should be compensated for their losses, by a full indemnity in Germany. (4.) Immediately after General Menon had signed the capitulation of Alexandria, the preliminaries of peace between France and the Porte were concluded at Paris (Oct. 9 ;) but they were not confirmed into a definitive peace, until after the preliminaries were signed at London (June 25, 1802.) The free navigation of the Black Sea was secured to the French flag.

When Mr. Pitt had quitted the English ministry, France and England came to terms of better accommodation. The first advances were made on the side of the latter power. The preliminaries were signed at London, between Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto ; including their respective allies (Oct. 1, 1801.) Of all her conquests, Great Britain was to retain only the Island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. Malta was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, under the protection of a third power ; and Egypt was to belong to the Porte. The French troops were to abandon the kingdom of Naples, and the English to quit Porto Ferrajo. France was to acknowledge the Republic of the Seven Islands, which was composed of Corfu and the six other islands formerly belonging to the Venetians

For carrying these preliminaries into execution, a Congress was opened at Amiens, where Joseph Bonaparte appeared for France, Lord Cornwallis for England, the Chevalier Azara for Spain, and M. Schimmelpenninck for the Batavian Republic. Some unexpected difficulties arose with regard to Malta, as Great Britain had repented of having given it up in the preliminary treaty. They found means, however, to remove these obstacles; and the peace of Amiens was finally signed after a negotiation of six months (March 27, 1802.)

We shall only take notice here in what respects these articles differed from the preliminaries. With regard to the stipulation respecting the surrender of Malta to the Knights of St. John, several modifications were added, viz. as to the election of a new Grand Master; the suppression of the French and English *Langues*, or class of Knights; the institution of a Maltese *Langue*; the time for its evacuation; and the future appointment of the garrison. Finally, it was said in the treaty, that the independence of that island and its present arrangement, were placed under the guaranty of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia and Prussia. It may be mentioned, that Russia and Prussia declined to undertake that guaranty, unless certain modifications were added. This refusal furnished England with a pretext for refusing to part with that island; and the war, as we shall soon find, was recommenced rather than give up that important possession.

One article of the treaty of Amiens having promised the Prince of Orange a compensation for the losses he had sustained in the late Republic of the United Provinces, both in private property and expenses, another convention was signed at Amiens between France and the Batavian States, importing that that compensation should in no case fall to the charge of the latter.

There is one essential observation which we must make on the peace of Amiens. Contrary to the general practice, the former treaties between France and Great Britain were not renewed by that of Amiens. It is not difficult to perceive the cause of this silence. At the time when the peace of Utrecht was concluded, Great Britain had an interest in having the principle of free commerce for neutral States held sacred; and she had consequently announced it in the treaty of navigation and commerce, which was concluded in 1713. All the following treaties, until that of 1783 inclusive, having renewed the articles of Utrecht, the silence on this subject at Amiens placed Great Britain, in this respect, on the footing of a common right, which, according to the system of the English, would not have been favourable to the principle of a free trade,—a doctrine which it was for their

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interest to suppress, since they had then the command of the sea. We have now brought down the history of the French Revolution, from its commencement to the year 1802, when the French power began to preponderate in Europe. The influence of the Republic was enormously great. The Netherlands and a flourishing portion of Germany, as well as Geneva, Savoy, and Piedmont, were incorporated with the territories which had been governed by Louis XVI. The Dutch and the Cisalpine States, including the Milanois, a considerable part of the Venetian territories, the dutchies of Mantua, Modena and Parma, besides some of the Ecclesiastical provinces, had bowed their neck to the yoke of the First Consul. The Swiss, enslaved by the Directory, had not been able to recover their ancient independence. Tuscany and the Ligurian Republic durst not presume to dispute the will of the conqueror; while Spain, forgetful of her ancient dignity, was reduced to a state of subservient and degraded alliance. It will be now necessary, according to the plan of this work, that we take a survey of the more remarkable events which happened in the course of the preceding thirteen years, in the other States of Europe.

Portugal had been a co-partner in the first coalition against France, and had furnished a body of 6000 troops to Spain, and some ships of war to England. We have already related how Mary I. was prevented from disengaging herself from the treaty of 1797. The Prince of Brazil, who had assumed the regency (July 15, 1799) in consequence of the infirm state of his mother's health, took a more decided part in the second coalition, by signing an alliance with Russia (Sept. 28.) This alliance drew him into a war with Spain. The Duke of Alcudia, usually styled the *Prince of Peace*, seized several cities in Portugal without much difficulty; as her army was in as bad condition as her finances. A peace was speedily concluded at Badajos (June 6, 1801.) Portugal agreed to shut her ports against English vessels; and ceded to Spain Olivença, and the places situated on the Guadiana. The engagement respecting English vessels was renewed by the peace of Madrid (Sept. 29,) which reconciled Portugal with France.

In Spain, Charles IV. had succeeded his father Charles III. (Dec. 13, 1788;) Philip, the eldest son, having been declared incapable of reigning, on account of his deficiency of intellect. That prince, who had no pleasure but in the chase, gave himself up entirely to that amusement. He was the jest of the Queen and her favourites, to whom he abandoned the cares of government. In 1790 a difference which had arisen with England respecting the right of property to Nootka Sound in North Ameri-

ca, was on the point of interrupting the repose of this indolent monarch. But matters were adjusted by a convention signed at the Escorial (Oct. 28, 1790,) by which Spain renounced her rights over that distant possession. The chief favourite since 1790, had been Don Manuel Godoy, created Duke of Alcudia; a weak minister, under whom every thing became venal, and the whole nation corrupt. The revolutionary principles which had taken root there after the expulsion of the Jesuits, as sufficient care had not been taken to supply the place of these fathers with other public instructors of youth, were readily propagated under so vicious an administration; especially after the publication of the famous Memoir of Jovellanos (1795,) on the improvements of agriculture and the Agrarian Law; a work which was composed by order of the Council of Castille, and written with clearness and simplicity. The author, no doubt, deserved credit for the purity of his sentiments; but in his enthusiasm for the objects which he recommended, he overlooked all existing laws; encouraged the spoliation of the church, the crown, and the community; as well as the suppression of corporations, and conditional legacies, or liferents; in short, a total and radical subversion of the institutions of the country. This work may be said to have produced a revolution in Spain; for the Cortes of Cadiz did no more than carry into execution the schemes of Jovellanos.

If the Prince of Peace failed in conducting the administration of the interior, he was not more successful in making the crown of Spain respected abroad. By the peace of Basle (July 22, 1795,) Charles IV. renounced the Spanish part of St. Domingo. By the alliance offensive and defensive of St. Ildefonso (Aug. 19, 1796,) Spain identified herself with the French system. The war with Great Britain ruined her marine. Admiral Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (Feb. 14 1797,) commanded by Admiral Cordova. It was in this engagement that Captain Nelson, afterwards so famous, established his fame, by the courage and conduct which he displayed. Admiral Hervey conquered the important island of Trinidad (Feb. 18.) General Stewart without much difficulty took possession of Minorca (Nov. 7, 1798.) The alliance of Spain with France was also the reason why the Emperor Paul declared war against her, after his accession to the coalition (July 27, 1799.) The Porte followed the example of Russia (Oct. 1, 1801.) After the peace of Luneville, a reconciliation with the former power was signed at Paris (October 4.) The war which Spain was obliged to wage with Portugal, procured her the city of Olivença, which was ceded by the peace of Badajos (June 9.)

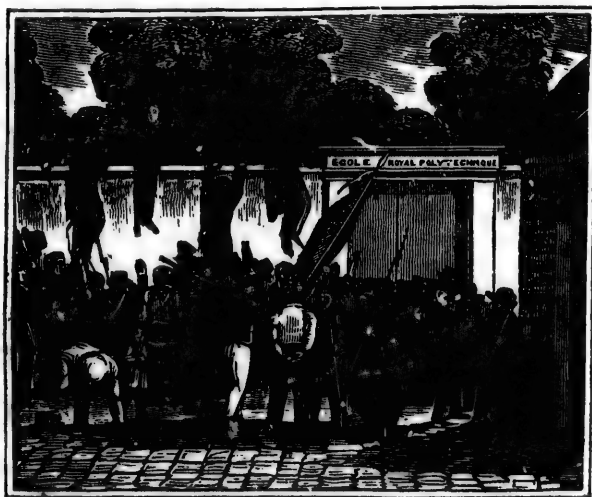
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isia to Bonaparte; and eventually the State of Parma (October 1, 1800.) She also surrendered to him five ships of the line, besides a considerable sum of money which she paid him; and all this on the faith of his promising to procure the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, with the title of Royalty, to the King's son-in-law, the Infant of Parma. These stipulations were more clearly established by the treaty which Lucien Bonaparte and the Prince of Peace afterwards signed at Madrid (March 21, 1801.) The peace of Amiens cost Spain no other sacrifice than the Island of Trinidad, which she was obliged to abandon to England; entirely on the decision of Bonaparte, who did not even ask the consent of Charles IV. Spain had lost all sort of respect or consideration, both from the universal and contemptible weakness of her government, and because she had voluntarily placed herself under dependence to France.

From the very commencement of this period, Great Britain had been preserved from the influence of the revolutionary principles, which had a great many partisans in that kingdom, by the firmness of her Prime Minister, William Pitt, and the splendid eloquence of Edmund Burke, a member of the House of Commons. Pitt consolidated the system of finance, by extending the sinking fund, which he had created in 1786. He gave vigour to the government, by obtaining the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; and by means of the *Alien Bill* (Jan. 4, 1793,) which allowed the magistrate an extensive authority in the surveillance of foreigners. The greatest number of malcontents appeared in Ireland, and these consisted chiefly of Catholics; although an act, passed in 1793, had rendered the Catholics eligible to almost all official employments. That island nevertheless was the theatre of several conspiracies, the design of which was to render it independent. Their leaders acted in unison with the French, who made attempts at different times to effect a landing in that country. Fifteen thousand troops, accompanied by eighteen sail of the line, embarked for that purpose from Brest harbour in the month of December. But this formidable armament had scarcely put to sea, when they were overtaken by a storm. Eight of these vessels reached the Irish coast, and appeared off Bantray Bay; but they were forced from that station by another tempest, when they returned to France with the loss of two ships of the line, some frigates having narrowly escaped falling in with two squadrons of the English navy.

At length, as a remedy for this political mischief, the union of Ireland with Great Britain was effected, so that both kingdoms should have one and the same Parliament; and George III. as-

sumed the title of King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (July 2, 1800.)

Great Britain was the moving principle of the two first coalitions against France, although she fought rather with money than with troops. She succeeded in ruining the marine and the commerce of both France and Spain; and obtained the complete command of the sea. A short time before the death of Paul I., she was involved in a war with the powers of the North. The resentment of that Prince against the Cabinet of London, for refusing to put him in possession of Malta, which the English troops had seized, was the true cause of hostilities; although a litigated question of public right was made the pretext. The point at issue was, whether the convoy granted to the merchant ships of neutral states by their sovereign, protected them from being searched by those of the belligerent powers, or not. Denmark, with whom the discussion first arose, maintained the affirmative, and England the negative; although it was not till the end of the year 1799 that she maintained this doctrine. At that time there had been some misunderstanding between Admiral Keith, the commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain Van Dockum, who was convoying a fleet of Danish merchantmen. In the month of July following, the Danish frigate *La Freya*, which had attempted to defend her convoy against a search of the English cruisers, was taken and carried into the Downs.

These acts of violence gave rise to a very warm discussion between the Courts of London and Copenhagen. The former having sent a fleet to the Sound, commanded by Admiral Dickson, Denmark was obliged to yield to the tempest, but in a manner very honourable. By a convention which was signed at Copenhagen (Aug. 29, 1800,) the decision of the question was remitted for further discussion. The English Government released the *Freya*, and the King of Denmark promised to suspend the convoys.

This accommodation did not meet with the approval of the Emperor Paul. That prince, who entertained lofty ideas, but who yielded too often to his passions, had determined to revive the principles of the *Armed Neutrality*, according to the treaty of 1780, and to compel England to acknowledge them. He invited Denmark and Sweden, in so very peremptory a manner, to join with him for this purpose, that these States could not refuse their consent without coming to an open rupture with him. This agreement with the courts of Copenhagen, Sweden and Berlin, was finally settled by the conventions signed at St. Petersburg (Dec. 16, and 18.) As Great Britain could not find a more coa-

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venient occasion than that of her maritime preponderance, for deciding those questions on which she had maintained silence in 1780, war was declared; and hostilities commenced in course of a few months. A body of Danish troops occupied Hamburg and Lubec. The Prussians took possession of Bremen and Hanover (April 3.) An English fleet, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, commanded by Admirals Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson, forced the passage of the Sound without sustaining much injury (March 30.) A squadron under Lord Nelson engaged the Danish fleet before Copenhagen (April 3,) which was commanded by Admiral Olfart Fischer. The action was spirited on both sides, and added a new wreath to the fame of Nelson; and although the Danes were obliged to yield to the superiority of British valour, they acquitted themselves bravely and honourably. Within seven days after, an armistice was concluded.

Admiral Parker continued his route by the Baltic and arrived before Carlscrona (April 19,) where he was on the eve of commencing hostilities against Sweden, when he was apprised of the death of the Emperor Paul. That event dissolved the League of the North, and put an end to the war. By a convention which the Emperor Alexander concluded at St. Petersburg (June 17,) the principles of maritime law which the English had professed were recognised. The other powers of the North acceded to this convention. The Danes evacuated Hamburg and Lubec; but Prussia continued in possession of Hanover until the conclusion of the peace between France and England.

With regard to Holland, the twenty years which elapsed between 1795 and 1814 formed an era of calamities and disasters. The Patriots, who comprehended the middle class of the Dutch community, had gained the ascendancy on the entrance of the French army; one consequence of which was, the abolition of the Stadtholdership. But that party became sensible of their error, when they saw the ruin of their country. The independence of their Republic was acknowledged by the treaty of the Hague (May 16, 1795,) which, by giving it France for an ally, subjected it in effect to that power; and reduced it to the condition of a province,—the more neglected, as it was not entirely united. The constitution which the *Batavian Republic* (the title which it assumed) had adopted, vacillated between two opposite systems, the adherents of which could come to no agreement;—namely, that of a *United* and that of a *Federal* republic. While these matters were under debate, the English, who had joined the Stadtholder's party, stripped the Republic of its colonies; destroyed its marine, particularly in the action which Ad-

miral Duncan fought with De Winter near Camperdown (Oct. 11, 1797 ;) and annihilated her commerce and her navigation by blockading her coasts,—not excepting even her fisheries.

The overthrow of the ancient Helvetic Confederacy, is undoubtedly one of the high crimes with which history has to reproach the Executive Directory of France. The constitution drawn up by MM. Ochs and La Harpe after the model of that of France, which excluded the federative system, was published by the French party (May 30, 1798,) in spite of the modifications which the more judicious patriots had attempted to introduce ; and supported by the French army under General Schauenburg. To compel the smaller cantons to submit to this yoke, it was necessary to have recourse to fire and sword. The Grisons found means, however, to evade it by receiving an Austrian army among them, in virtue of a convention which was concluded at Coire (Oct. 17 ;) and it was not till after the unfortunate campaign of 1799, that they were compelled to renounce their independence. France appropriated to herself the Swiss part of the bishopric of Basle, and the cities of Mulhouse and Geneva. The terms of subjection on which the Helvetic Republic was to stand in future with France, were determined by an alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded at Paris (Aug. 19.) Switzerland henceforth renounced that neutrality which for centuries she had regarded as the pledge and safeguard of her liberties.

The animosity which reigned between the Unionists and the Federalists, caused several revolutions in the government of that Republic. But as these intrigues were carried on, on a small scale, and have left few traces behind, it is unnecessary here to enter into any detail. If the Revolution in Switzerland did not produce a single man remarkable for great talents, or of a commanding character, the religious spirit of the country, the instruction of the people, and the diffusion of knowledge, at least preserved them from those crimes and excesses which stained the Revolutionists in France.

At the peace of Amiens all Italy, with the exception of a part of the Venetian territory which was united to Austria, had yielded to the dominion of France. The King of the Two Sicilies alone had still maintained a sort of independence. In no country had the revolutionary principles of the eighteenth century found more abettors among the higher classes than in Piedmont. The King of Sardinia was the first sovereign whose throne was undermined by their influence. Scarcely had Victor Amadeus III., who ascended the throne in 1773, joined the league against France (July 25, 1792,) when the Republican

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armies attacked, and made an easy conquest of Savoy and Nice. Great Britain granted him, by the treaty of London (April 25, 1793,) subsidies for carrying on the war with vigour. We have related above the disasters which he met with in the war against France. The peace of Paris cost him the sacrifice of two provinces. In vain did his son Charles Emanuel IV. hope to save the remainder of his estates, by becoming an ally of the French Directory at the treaty of Turin, (April 5, 1797.) His political influence was lost; they knew they could command any thing from that ally. Their first request was the surrender of the city of Turin, by the convention of Milan (June 28, 1798.) The Directory afterwards declared war against that prince without any grounds; and he could not obtain permission to retire to Sardinia, except by signing a kind of abdication (Dec. 9;) against which he afterwards protested. Piedmont was thus governed entirely according to the pleasure of France; and immediately after the peace of Amiens, it was definitively annexed to her territories.

Austrian Lombardy (with the exception of Mantua,) the duchy of Modena, the three Legatines ceded by Pius VI., and a part of the Venetian territory, formed the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte declared independent, by the preliminaries of Leoben (June 29, 1797.) He soon after (Oct. 22,) added to it the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which he had taken from the Grisons; and at a later period (Sept. 7, 1800,) he added a part of Piedmont, viz. the Novarese, and the country beyond the Sesia. Mantua was likewise annexed to this Republic at the peace of Luneville. Its connexions with France had been determined by the alliance of 1798, which were more servile than those in which the Batavian Republic, and afterwards that of Switzerland, were placed. In this pretended Republic, France exercised an absolute power; she changed its constitution at pleasure, appointed and deposed its highest functionaries as suited her convenience. The victories of Suwarow put an end for some time to the existence of that State; but after the battle of Marengo, matters were replaced on their ancient footing.

The Republic of Genoa, distracted by innovations at home, and threatened from abroad by England and France, hesitated for some time as to the system which they should adopt. But after the French had become masters of the Bocchetta, the Senate consented, by a treaty concluded at Paris (Oct. 9, 1796,) to give them a sum of money, and shut their ports against the English. After the preliminaries of Leoben, this Republic accepted a democratic constitution from the hand of Bonaparte, according to the treaty of Montebello (June 6, 1797.) It paid

large sums of money, and was gratified by the Imperial fiefs which Bonaparte added to its territory. It then took the name of the Ligurian Republic (June 14.) We have already mentioned how the Grand Duke of Tuscany was unjustly deprived of his estates, which Bonaparte made over by the treaty of St. Ildefonso to the hereditary Prince of Parma, son-in-law to Charles IV. of Spain. This young prince was proclaimed King of Etruria, (Aug. 2, 1801,) and acknowledged by all the European powers; but during his brief reign, he was more a vassal of Bonaparte than an independent sovereign.

Pius VI. had protested against the spoliation of the Church, which the Constituent Assembly of France had committed, by the union of Avignon and the County of Venaissin to the Republic, (Nov. 3, 1791;) and from that time he was treated as an enemy. The truce of Bologna, (June 23, 1796,) cost him twenty-one millions of francs, and many of the finest specimens of art. He consented that such statues and pictures as might be selected by commissioners appointed for that purpose, should be conveyed to the French capital. Finding it impossible to obtain an equitable peace, he set on foot an army of 45,000 men, which he placed under the command of General Colli, a native of Austria; but Bonaparte, notwithstanding, compelled his Holiness to conclude a peace at Tolentino, (Feb. 19, 1797,) which cost him fifteen millions more, and the three Legatines of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He renounced at the same time Avignon and the County of Venaissin. In consequence of a tumult which took place at Rome, in which the French General Duphot was killed, a French army under General Berthier, entered that city (Feb. 11, 1798,) and proclaimed the Roman Republic; which, as we have noticed, enjoyed but an ephemeral existence. The government was vested in five consuls, thirty-two senators, and seventy-two tribunes, called the Representatives of the people. Pius VI. was carried captive to France, and died at Valence (Aug. 29, 1799.) The Conclave assembled at Venice, and elected Cardinal Chiaramonte in his place, (March 13, 1800,) who assumed the title of Pius VII., and within a short time after made his public entry into Rome. Bonaparte, then elected First Consul, allowed him to enjoy the rest of his estates in peace.

Towards the end of 1792, a French fleet, commanded by Admiral La Touche, appeared off the port of Naples, and obliged the King to acknowledge that first of all sovereigns, the French Republic. This did not prevent him from entering into the coalition, (July 12, 1793,) by a treaty of alliance with England, which was concluded at Naples. After the success of Bona-

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parte in Lombardy, Ferdinand IV. averted the storm which threatened him, by signing first a suspension of arms at Brescia (June 5 1798,) and the peace of Paris a few months after, which he obtained on honourable conditions. We have already mentioned, that he was one of the first sovereigns who entered into the second coalition against France; and that the precipitancy with which he then commenced hostilities, proved prejudicial to the success of the war, as well as disastrous to himself. He did not regain possession of the kingdom of Naples till after the retreat of Macdonald in 1799; and he purchased peace (March 28, 1800) at the expense of receiving into his kingdom 16,000 French troops, who remained there until the conclusion of the treaty between Alexander and Bonaparte.

The combined fleets of Turkey and Russia had subdued the islands that formerly belonged to the Venetians, viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maura, Ithaca, Paxo, and Cerigo. According to a convention concluded at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte (March 21, 1800,) these islands were to form an independent State, although subject to the Ottoman Empire, under the name of the *Republic of the Seven Islands*. This Republic, was acknowledged in subsequent treaties by France and Great Britain.

By the peace of Basle, Germany had been divided into two parts; the North, at the head of which was Prussia; and the South, where Austria had the predominancy, in consequence of her armies, and by the favour of the ecclesiastical Princes; for the secular States abandoned her as often as they could do so with impunity. By a convention which Prussia concluded at Basle with France (May 17, 1795,) the neutrality of the North of Germany was recognised, on conditions which the Princes situated beyond the line of demarcation were anxious to fulfil. Prussia afterwards concluded arrangements with these States for establishing an army of observation. This defection created no small animosity between the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, which the French dexterously turned to their own advantage; especially during the sitting of the Congress at Rastadt. In vain did the Emperor Paul, who had determined to make war against the Republic, attempt to restore harmony between these two leading States. He was equally unsuccessful in his project of drawing Prussia into the coalition. Although Frederic II. had been deceived by France, who, after having promised him, in a secret convention concluded at Berlin (August 5, 1796,) a compensation proportioned to the loss which he had sustained by ceding the left bank of the Rhine, entered into engagements directly opposite, by the secret articles in the treaty

of Campo Formio. Nevertheless Frederic William III., who succeeded his father (Nov. 16, 1797,) remained faithful to a neutrality which the state of the Prussian finances appeared to render necessary.

The revolutionary doctrines which were transplanted into Germany by the French emissaries, had fallen on a soil well prepared, and in which they speedily struck root. By the peace of Luneville, all the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine, were incorporated with France; and the moment was approaching which was to witness the downfall of the German Empire. While the French nation, seized with a strange mania, were overturning law and order from their very foundations, and abandoning themselves to excesses which appear almost incredible in a civilized country, in the North another nation, sunk into anarchy and oppressed by their neighbours, were making a noble effort to restore the authority of the laws, and to extricate themselves from the bondage of a foreign yoke.

The Poles had flattered themselves, that while the forces of Russia were occupied against the Swedes and the Turks, as we have already mentioned, they would be left at liberty to alter their constitution, and give a new vigour to the government of their Republic. An extraordinary Diet was assembled at Warsaw (1788,) which formed itself into a Confederation, in order to avoid the inconveniences of the *Liberum Veto*, and of the unanimity required in ordinary diets. The Empress of Russia having made some attempts at that Diet to engage the Poles to enter into an alliance against the Porte, she was thwarted in her intentions by the King of Prussia, who, in consequence of his engagements with England, used every effort to instigate the Poles against Russia. He encouraged them, by offering them his alliance, to attempt a reform in their government, which Russia had recently guaranteed. A Committee of Legislation, appointed by the Diet was commissioned to draw up the plan of a constitution, which would give new energy to the Republic.

This resolution of the Diet could not but displease the Empress of Russia, who remonstrated against it as a direct infraction of the articles agreed between her and the Republic in 1775. The Poles, who thus foresaw that the changes which they had in view would embroil them with that princess, ought to have considered, in the first place, how to put themselves into a good state of defence. But instead of providing for the melioration of their finances, and putting the army of the Republic on a respectable footing, the Diet spent a considerable time in discussing the new plan of the constitution which had been submit

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ted to them. The assurance of protection from Prussia, which had been officially ratified to them, rendered the Poles too confident; and the treaty of alliance which the King of Prussia had in effect concluded with the Republic (March 29, 1790,) began to lull them into a profound security. Stanislaus Augustus, after having long hesitated as to the party he ought to espouse, at length voluntarily joined that party in the Diet who wished to extricate Poland from that state of degradation into which she had fallen. The new constitution was accordingly decreed by acclamation (May 3, 1791.)

However imperfect that constitution might appear, it was in unison with the state of civilization to which Poland had arrived. It corrected several of the errors and defects of former laws; and though truly republican, it was free from those extravagant notions which the French Revolution had brought into fashion. The throne was rendered hereditary in favour of the Electoral House of Saxony; they abolished the law of unanimity, and the absurdity of the *Liberum Veto*; the Diet was declared permanent, and the Legislative body divided into two Chambers. One of these Chambers, composed of Deputies whose functions were to continue for two years, was charged with discussing and framing the laws; and the other, consisting of a Senate in which the King presided, were to sanction them, and to exercise the *Veto*; the executive power was intrusted to the King, and a Council of Superintendence consisting of seven members or responsible ministers. The inhabitants of the towns were allowed the privilege of electing their own Deputies and Judges, and the burgesses had the way laid open to them for attaining the honours of nobility. The latter were maintained in all the plenitude of their rights and prerogatives; the peasantry, who had been in a state of servitude, were placed under the immediate protection of the laws and the government; the constitution sanctioned before-hand the compacts which the landed proprietors might enter into with their tenantry for meliorating their condition.

The efforts which the Poles had made to secure their independence, excited the resentment of Russia. The Empress had no sooner made peace with the Porte, than she engaged her partisans in Poland to form a confederacy for the purpose of overturning the innovations of the Diet at Warsaw, and restoring the ancient constitution of the Republic. This confederation, which was signed at Targowica (May 14, 1792,) was headed by the Counts Felix Potochi, Rzewuski, and Branicki. In support of this confederacy, the Empress sent an army into Poland, to wage war against the partisans of the new order of things. The

Poles had never till then thought seriously of adopting vigorous measures. The Diet decreed, that an army of the line should immediately take the field; and that a levy should be made of several corps of light troops. A loan of thirty-three millions of florins passed without the least opposition; but the Prussian minister having been called upon to give some explanation as to the subsidies which the King his master had promised to the Republic by the treaty of alliance of 1790, he made an evasive answer, which discouraged the whole patriotic party.

The refusal of the Polish Diet to accede to a mercantile scheme, by which Dantzic and Thorn were to be abandoned to the King of Prussia, had disaffected that monarch towards Poland. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Empress of Russia to obtain his consent to a dismemberment of that kingdom. The aversion which the sovereigns of Europe entertained for every thing that resembled the French Revolution, with which, however, the events of Poland where the King and the nation were acting in concert had nothing in common except appearances, had a powerful effect upon the Court of Berlin; and proved the cause of their breaking those engagements which they had contracted with that Republic. It was then that the Poles fully comprehended the danger of their situation. Their first ardour cooled, and the whole Diet were thrown into a state of the utmost consternation.

Abandoned to her own resources, and convulsed by intestine divisions, Poland then saw her utter inability to oppose an enemy so powerful as the Russians. The campaign of 1792 turned out entirely to the disadvantage of the Patriotic party. After a successful career, the Russians advanced on Warsaw; when Stanislaus, who was easily intimidated, acceded to the confederacy of Targowica, by renouncing the constitution of the 3d May, and the acts of the revolutionary Diet of Warsaw. That prince even subscribed (Aug. 25, 1792) to all the conditions which the Empress thought proper to dictate to him. A suspension of arms was agreed to, which stipulated for the reduction of the Polish army. In consequence of the arrangements entered into between Russia and Prussia, by the convention of St. Petersburg (Jan. 23, 1793,) the Prussian troops entered Poland, and spread over the country after the example of the Russians. Proclamations were issued by the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, by which they declared the districts of Poland which their troops had occupied, incorporated with their own dominions. The adoption of the constitution of 1791, and the propagation of the democratic principles of the French, were the causes of this new dismemberment of Poland.

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Prussia took possession of the larger part of Great Poland, including the cities of Dantzic and Thorn; the town of Czenstochowa in Little Poland was also adjudged to her, with its frontier extending to the rivers Pilica, Sterniewka, Jezowka, and Bzura. The left bank of these rivers was assigned to Prussia, and the right reserved to Poland. The portion awarded to the former, contained one thousand and sixty-one German square miles, and one million two hundred thousand inhabitants. Russia got nearly the half of Lithuania, including the Palatinates of Podolia, Polotsk, and Minsk, a part of the Palatinate of Wilna, with the half of Novogrodek, Brzesc, and Volhynia; in all, four thousand five hundred and fifty-three German square miles and containing three millions of inhabitants.

The Poles were obliged to yield up, by treaties, those provinces which the two powers had seized. The treaty between Poland and Russia was signed at the Diet of Grodno (July 13, 1793.) But that with the King of Prussia met with the most decided opposition; and it was necessary to use threats of compulsion before it was consummated. On this occasion, these two powers renounced anew the rights and pretensions which they might still have against the Republic under any denomination whatsoever. They agreed to acknowledge, and if it should be required, also to guarantee the constitution which should be established by the Diet with the free consent of the Polish nation.

After these treaties, came a treaty of alliance and union between Russia and Poland (October 16, 1793,) the third article of which guaranteed their mutual assistance in case of attack; the direction of the war was reserved to Russia, as well as the privilege of sending her troops into Poland, and forming magazines there, when she might judge it necessary; while Poland agreed to enter into no connexion with foreign powers, and to make no change in her constitution, except with the approbation of Russia. The portion that was left to the Republic, either in Poland or Lithuania, contained three thousand eight hundred and thirty square miles, with somewhat more than three millions of inhabitants. This State was divided into eighteen palatinates, ten of which were in Poland, and eight in Lithuania. To each of these palatinates were assigned two senators, a palatine, a castellan, and six deputies to sit in the Diet.

These different treaties, and the grievances of which the Poles had just cause to complain, threw the public mind into a state of agitation, which in the following year broke out into a general insurrection. A secret association was formed at Warsaw; it found numerous partisans in the army, which was to have been disbanded according to the arrangements with Rus-

sia The conspirators chose Thaddeus Kosciuszko for their chief, in this projected insurrection against Russia. That general had distinguished himself in the American war under Washington; he had very recently signalized his bravery in the campaign of 1792; and after the unfortunate issue of that war, he had retired into Saxony with a few other patriots, who were ready to exert their energy in the cause of freedom. The insurgents reckoned with confidence on the assistance of Austria, who had taken no part in the last dismemberment of Poland, they flattered themselves that Turkey and Sweden would not remain mere spectators of the efforts which they were making to regain their liberty and their independence.

Kosciuszko had wished that they should postpone the execution of their plan, in order to gain more time for preparation; especially as a suspicion was excited among the Russians. He even retired into Italy, where he remained until one of his accomplices, who had been ordered, as a propagator of sedition, to banish himself from the Polish territories, informed him that his countrymen wished him to appear among them without delay, as a better opportunity might not soon arise. Madalinski, who commanded a brigade of cavalry under the new government, when summoned to disband them, refused; and throwing off the mask, gave the signal for insurrection. He suddenly quitted his station, crossed the Vistula, and after having dispersed some detachments of Prussians, whom he encountered in his route, he marched directly to Cracow, where he erected the standard of revolt. The inhabitants took arms, expelled the Russian troops who were quartered in that city, and proclaimed Kosciuszko their General. A sort of dictatorship was conferred upon him (March 24, 1794,) which was to continue so long as their country was in danger. He took an oath of fidelity to the nation, and of adherence to the principles stated in the act of insurrection, by which war was declared against the invaders of their rights and liberties.

The Russians and Prussians immediately despatched their troops to arrest the progress of the insurrection. The defeat of a body of Russians near Raslavice, by Kosciuszko, inspired the insurgents with new courage. The inhabitants of Warsaw rose in like manner against the Russians, who had a garrison there of 10,000 men, under the command of General Igelstrom. It was on the night of the 17th April that the tocsin of revolt was sounded in the capital; the insurgents seized the arsenal, and distributed arms and ammunition among the people. A brisk cannonade took place between the Russians and the Poles. The combat continued for two successive days, in which several

thousands of the Russians perished, while 4500 were made prisoners. Igelsztroin escaped from the city with about 3000 men. The same insurrection broke out at Wilna, from whence it extended over all Lithuania. Several Polish regiments who had entered into the service of Russia, changed sides, and enlisted under the banners of the insurgents.

In spite of their first success, it was soon perceived that Poland was deficient in the necessary resources for an enterprise of such a nature as that in which they were engaged. The great body of the citizens were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently wealthy, to serve as a centre for the revolution which they had undertaken; and the servitude in which the peasantry were kept, was but ill calculated to inspire them with enthusiasm for a cause in which their masters only were to be the gainers. Besides, the patriots were divided in opinion; and the King, although he appeared to approve their efforts, inspired so much mistrust by his weakness and timidity, that he was even accused of secretly abetting the interests of Russia. Lastly, the nobles who alone ought to have shown courage and energy, were found but little disposed to give any effectual support to the cause of liberty. Every contribution appeared to them an encroachment on their prerogatives; and they were as much averse to a levy *en masse* as to the raising of recruits, which deprived them of their tenantry. They were, moreover, afraid of losing those rights and privileges which they exclusively enjoyed.

Under these considerations, Kosciuszko was convinced that it was impossible for him to organize an armed force equal to that of the Russians and the Prussians, who were acting in concert to defeat the measures of the insurgents. After some inferior operations, an important engagement took place on the confines of the Palatinates of Siradia and Cujavia (June 8, 1794,) where he sustained a defeat; in consequence of which the King of Prussia made himself master of Cracow. That prince, supported by a body of Russian troops, undertook, in person, the siege of Warsaw. The main forces of the insurgents were assembled under the walls of that city. They amounted to about 22,000 combatants, while the enemy had more than 50,000. The siege of Warsaw continued nearly two months, when a general insurrection, which had spread from Great Poland into Western Prussia, obliged the King to retire, that he might arrest the progress of the insurrection in his own dominions.

The joy of the insurgents, on account of this incident, was but of short duration. The Court of Vienna, which till then had maintained a strict neutrality, resolved also to despatch an

army into Poland. This army was divided into two columns, one of which marched on Brzesci, and the other on Dowbno. On the other hand, the Russians under the command of Suwarow, advanced into Lithuania, and pursued a body of the insurgents, who were commanded by Sirakowski. Kosciuszko, who now saw the great superiority of the enemy, made a last effort to prevent the junction of the army of Suwarow with that of Baron de Fersen, the Russian General. Directing his march towards the latter, he fought a bloody battle with him near Mactchewitz (Oct. 10, 1794.) The action continued from sunrise till beyond mid-day. Six thousand of the Polish army perished on the field, and the rest were made prisoners. Kosciuszko was himself dangerously wounded, and fell into the hands of the conqueror. He had endeavoured to escape by the swiftness of his horse, but was overtaken by some of the Cossacs; one of whom, without knowing him, run him through the back with his lance. Falling senseless from his horse, he was carried to a monastery; when it was intimated, by one of his officers, that he was the Commander-in-chief. Surgical aid was immediately administered to him, and he was soon after conveyed to St. Petersburg.

This disaster quite dejected the courage of the Poles. Their Generals, Dombrowski and Madalinski, who were carrying on the war in Prussia and Great Poland, abandoned these provinces, and marched with their troops to the relief of Warsaw. Suwarow likewise directed his march towards that capital, and was there joined by a considerable body of Prussians, under Dorsfelden and Fersen, in conjunction with whom he commenced the blockade of that city (Nov. 4.) The Russians, who amounted to 22,000 men, prepared for an attack of the entrenchments of Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw. The Poles, who had a body of between eight and ten thousand men, made a courageous defence; but nothing could withstand the ardour and impetuosity of the Russians, who were burning with rage to avenge the blood of their countrymen who were massacred at Warsaw.

Three batteries had been erected in the night; and the two first divisions, though harassed by a vigorous fire in every direction except the rear, bravely surmounted every obstacle. In the space of four hours, they carried the triple entrenchment of Praga by main force. Rushing into the place, they pursued their adversaries through the streets, put the greater part of them to the sword, and drove one thousand into the Vistula. In this scene of action, a regiment of Jews made an obstinate defence, and at length were totally extirpated. Thirteen thousand of the Poles, it is said, were left dead on the spot; two thousand were

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drowned in the Vistula, and between fourteen and fifteen thousand were made prisoners. The suburb of Praga was pilaged and razed to the foundation. Terror seized the inhabitants of Warsaw, and they determined to capitulate. Suwarow made his triumphant entry into that capital, and was presented with the keys of the city (Nov. 9.) The Polish troops laid down their arms; the insurrection was quelled; and the greater part of those who had distinguished themselves in it, were arrested by the Russians. The King of Poland retired to Grodno; and the final dismemberment of that country was agreed upon by the three allied powers.

The Court of Berlin having signified their intention of retaining Cracow and the neighbouring country, of which their troops had just taken possession, Austria, who was also desirous of procuring that part of Poland, took advantage of the discontent which the conduct of Prussia during the campaign of 1794, and her retreat from the ensuing coalition, had excited in the Empress of Russia, and entered into a separate negotiation with the Court of St. Petersburg. They arranged privately between themselves, as to the shares which were to fall to each. An act, in form of a declaration, was signed at St. Petersburg, between these two courts (Jan. 3, 1795,) purporting, that the Cabinet of Berlin should be invited to accede to the stipulations therein contained; in consideration of the offer which the two courts made to acquiesce in the reunion of the remainder of Poland with the Prussian monarchy, and the engagement which they entered into to guarantee that acquisition.

A negotiation was afterwards set on foot with the Court of Berlin, which was protracted to a great length; as that Court, who were ignorant of the engagement which Catherine had come under to secure Cracow to Austria, had always entertained the hope of being able to retain it themselves. It was only when the act of the 3d January was communicated to them, that they agreed to a special convention with the Court of Vienna, which was signed at St. Petersburg (Oct. 24, 1795.) The city of Cracow was abandoned to Austria, who, on her side, resigned in favour of the King of Prussia a portion of the territory which the declaration of the 3d January preceding had secured to her. It was settled, that the limits of the Palatinate of Cracow should be regulated between these two powers, under the mediation of the Court of St. Petersburg. Stanislaus had then no other alternative left, than to resign his crown into the hands of the Empress of Russia. The act of his abdication was dated at Grodno (Nov. 25, 1795.)

It was by these different conventions, that Russia obtained all

that remained of Poland and Lithuania, as far as the Niemen and the confines of Brzesci and Novogrodek. She likewise obtained the greater part of Samogitia, with the whole of Courland and Semigallia. She had besides, in Little Poland, that part of the territory of Chelm situated on the right bank of the Bug, and the remainder of Volhynia; in all, containing about two thousand square miles, with one million two hundred thousand inhabitants.

To Austria were assigned, in addition to the principal part of Cracow, the whole Palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, with part of the district of Chelm, and the Palatinates of Brzesci, Podolachia, and Masovia, which lay on the left bank of the Bug; comprising in all, about eight hundred and thirty-four thousand German square miles, with about one million of inhabitants.

To Prussia, was assigned part of the Palatinates of Masovia and Podolachia, lying on the right bank of the Bug; in Lithuania, she had part of the Palatinate of Troki and of Samogitia which lies on this side of the Niemen, as well as the small district in Little Poland, making part of the Palatinate of Cracow; the whole consisting of about one thousand German square miles, with a population of one million. Finally, by a subsequent convention which was concluded at St. Petersburg (Jan. 26, 1797,) the three co-participant Courts arranged among themselves as to the manner of discharging the debts of the King and the Republic of Poland. They agreed by this same convention to allow the dethroned monarch an annuity of 200,000 ducats.

At the commencement of this period, it was not yet perceived of what importance it was for Russia to get possession of the Crimea; and it was not until the agriculture and industry of that country had begun to prosper under a wise administration, that they began to apprehend it might one day have a powerful influence on the balance of trade. The Empress Catherine, who had been flattered in her youth by the eulogies of the philosophers, so as to become a disciple of their new doctrines, was the first to perceive this danger. She then declared herself a most implacable enemy to the French Revolution, and would gladly have armed all Europe to exterminate the Republic. Nevertheless, she did not take up arms herself, and only joined the first coalition in an indirect manner, and by concluding treaties purely defensive, such as that of Drontningholm with Sweden (Oct. 19, 1791,) and that of St. Petersburg with the King of Hungary and Bohemia (July 12, 1782,) and that which was concluded (Aug. 7,) in the same city with Prussia. Nevertheless, when Frederic had retired from the list, she re-

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solved to send into the field the sixty thousand men which England was to take into pay. The treaty was on the eve of being signed, when the Empress was suddenly cut off by death (Nov. 17, 1796.)

Paul, her successor, refused to sanction that treaty. We have already noticed the active hand which that monarch took in the war of 1799 against France; and we have already mentioned the unsuccessful attempt which he made to revive the principles of the armed neutrality. This Emperor, who wanted steadiness and consistency, published at his coronation (April 5, 1797,) a fundamental law regarding the order of succession to the throne. This law, intended to prevent those revolutions which the unsettled state of the throne had produced in Russia, established a mixed lineal succession, agreeably to the order of primogeniture; admitting females only in case of the total extinction of the male descendants of the male line of Paul; and defining with the most scrupulous exactness, the order in which females and their descendants should succeed to the throne. But being weak and narrow-minded, and incapable of discharging his imperial functions, he entailed upon himself the hatred of both the nobility and the people. He met with a violent death, having been murdered by a party of daring conspirators (March 24, 1801.)

Alexander, who succeeded his unfortunate father, lost no time in restoring peace to his dominions, by entering into an arrangement with Great Britain (June 17,) by which he abandoned the principles of free trade for neutral vessels; admitting that even a convoy should not protect these from being subjected to a search or visitation, when ordered by the Captain of a vessel belonging to the public navy of a belligerent state. He likewise concluded peace with France and Spain (Oct. 4, 8.)

Sweden had extricated herself without loss from the war which Gustavus III. had imprudently commenced. That Prince had succeeded in extending the royal prerogative, and making the Diet adopt the fundamental act of union and security (March 29, 1792,) vesting in himself the right of making war and peace, which according to the former order of things, he could only exercise with the concurrence of the States. Being endowed with an ardent and heroic character, he had proposed to march at the head of the armies which Louis XVI. had set on foot; but he fell the victim of a conspiracy formed by the discontented nobles, leaving his son a minor.

The Regency of the Duke of Sudermania, during the minority of Gustavus IV., was infested by jealousies and intrigues; while the finances, which were under bad management, fell

gradually into a state of disorder. The policy of the Regent was decidedly for the maintenance of peace. The young King himself assumed the reins of government (November 1, 1796.) Although he had entered into the league of the North, formed by Paul I., for the maintenance of the maritime rights of neutral States, he acceded shortly after to the opposite system, to which Alexander I. had declared himself favourable.

Christian VII. had reigned in Denmark since 1766; but for the last twenty years, the Prince Royal and Count Bernstorff had been at the head of his councils. Under their administration, the kingdom flourished in profound peace which had not for an instant been interrupted, except in 1800, by the vexatious treatment which the Danish ships had met with on the part of England. Denmark was the first of the European powers that abolished the African slave trade (May 16, 1796.)

CHAPTER XI.

PERIOD IX.

The Military Preponderance of France under the sway of Napoleon Bonaparte. A. D. 1802—1810.

In the period on which we are now entering, and which comprehends eight years, we shall find Napoleon Bonaparte devoting his unremitting efforts to a threefold project, the object of which was to secure for himself the empire of the world. The first of these was to render the monarchical government hereditary in his family, preparatory to the introduction of a universal dominion; the next was to extend the boundaries of France; and the last to surround that country, not with a multitude of Republics as the Directory had done, but with a number of petty monarchies, the existence of which should be so amalgamated with his own dynasty, that they must stand or fall with it. We shall find him keeping these projects incessantly in view, so that every step which he took towards the accomplishment of the one, was calculated at the same time to advance the other two.

Before the end of the year 1801, a council, composed of 450 deputies of the Cisalpine Republic, was assembled at Lyons, in order to deliberate as to the changes to be made in the constitution, which was assimilated more and more to the monarchical form. In the mean time, the Presidency of the Republic was

conferred on Bonaparte (January 26, 1802,) under the title of the *Italian Republic*.

Notwithstanding the easy triumph which the constitution of the year Eight had gained, by dissolving the Legislative Body of France, dissension was not long in breaking out among its members; and an opposition was formed which, condemned to silence, had no other means of manifesting itself, than by secretly thwarting the views of the government. There was, however, another opposition which appeared among the members of the tribunate, and which greatly irritated Bonaparte, by openly attacking his projects of legislation: The period had now arrived, when one-fifth part of the members of these two bodies were to retire. But the new convention, in settling this partial alteration, were divided as to the mode of proceeding; or rather it was the general opinion, that the ex-members should be determined by lot. This temporary vacancy furnished Bonaparte with a pretext for getting rid of all those whose presence had laid him under any sort of restraint. A decree of the Conservative Senate, of the 22d Ventose, in the year Ten (March 13, 1802,) turned out twenty of the tribunes, and sixty of the legislators; and supplied their places with members taken from the lists formed by the Electoral Colleges of the Departments. Having thus discovered what advantages might accrue to him from an institution which Sieyes had contrived for balancing the authority of the government, from that moment he converted the Senate into an instrument for sanctioning his own measures.

A notification from the French ambassador in Switzerland announced that the Valais should henceforth form an Independent Republic (April 3.) The inhabitants had not requested this favour; it was granted to them because Bonaparte wished to get possession of the Simplon, preparatory to the union of that country with France. The second decree of the New Constitution of the 6th Floreal (April 26,) granted a general amnesty to all emigrants who should return within the space of three months, and take the oath of allegiance. All their property that remained unsold was restored to them, except the forests. About a thousand individuals were excepted from this act of justice, which strengthened the authority of Bonaparte by conciliating the public opinion in his favour.

Immediately after this, Bonaparte submitted to the Tribunate and the Legislative Body a plan for the institution of a Legion of Honour (May 10.) This Legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of Dignitaries for life. The First Consul was the Chief of the Legion; each cohort was to be composed of seven

Grand Officers, twenty Commandants, thirty Officers, and three hundred Legionaries. The object of Bonaparte evidently was to establish a new aristocracy. But the minds of the Council were so little prepared for this proposition, and so contrary was it to the republican ideas with which they were still imbued, that it passed but by a very small majority, and the First Consul thought proper to delay carrying it into execution.

For some time the First Consul had been in negotiation with Pope Pius VII. on the affairs of religion. He had adjusted a Concordat with his Holiness, subjecting public worship to the superintendence of ten prelates of the highest rank, and fifty bishops. This famous Concordat was signed at Paris (July 15,) and ratified at Rome (Aug. 15,) 1801. It was afterwards submitted for the acceptance of the French nation, and adopted by a very great majority. The Sabbath and the four grand festivals were restored; and from this date the government ceased to follow the decennary system. This was the first abandonment of the Republican calendar. Bonaparte hoped to attach to himself the sacerdotal party, the order most disposed for passive obedience; and in this manner to balance the clergy against the Royalists, and the Pope against the interests of the Coalition. The Concordat was ratified with great pomp in the church of Notre Dame by the Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribune, and the public functionaries. The First Consul appeared in the ancient court carriage, with all the circumstances and etiquette of royalty.

Another law of the Constitution of the 30th of Floreal (May 20,) sanctioned the Slave Trade in the colonies restored to France by the treaty of Amiens, and in the French colonies situated beyond the Cape of Good Hope. By this law, however, slavery was not restored in St. Domingo. That colony was under the dominion of the Negroes, who, after having massacred the Whites, and committed barbarities which surpass even those of the French Revolution, had succeeded in establishing their independence. After the preliminaries signed at London, Bonaparte had sent an expedition to that Island, having on board 40,000 men, commanded by his brother-in-law General Le Clerc. On their arrival at St. Domingo, the French took possession of the town of Cape François, which was the seat of government, as well as of several other places. Toussaint L'Ouverture, originally a slave, and raised to be the Chief of the Blacks, submitted to the French; but General Le Clerc, having afterwards arrested him, had him conveyed to France where he died. This circumstance excited the Blacks to a new revolt under the command of Christophe, the relative and friend of Toussaint; and

after a bloody war, France lost this valuable colony, together with a numerous army and many commercial advantages.

After the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, the Tribunalate, purged of its Republican members, signified a wish that some pledge of national gratitude should be offered to General Bonaparte. The Conservative Senate then nominated him First Consul for ten years. When this decree of the Senate was announced to him, he could not conceal his chagrin; and that he might not be compelled to accept a favour which he disdained, he demanded that the decision of the Senate should be submitted for the sanction of the people. The two other Consuls were resolved to consult the nation (and this was the only occasion in which they ever acted on their own authority,) not as to the decree of the Senate, but on the question whether Bonaparte should be elected Consul for life. Out of 3,577,379, of which the primary Assembly was composed, 3,568,885 voted in the affirmative, and only 8,494 in the negative. Agreeable to this expression of the public voice, the Senate proclaimed Bonaparte First Consul for life (August 2, 1802.)

Two days after, the third decree of the Senate of the 16th Thermidor, brought the government still nearer the monarchical form, by granting to the First Consul great influence over the Electoral Assemblies, with the power of ratifying treaties, granting pardons, nominating senators without presentation, appointing the Presidents of the Electoral Assemblies, adding to the number of their members, and even proclaiming his own successor. The Tribunalate, which still appeared somewhat formidable, was reduced to fifty members.

Such, in the space of two years, was the progress of arbitrary power. In the course of 1802, the union of three different countries to France was either accomplished or in a state of preparation. The first was that of the Island of Elba, of which the Kings of Naples and Sardinia had resigned their rights; the second was that of Piedmont, which France had occupied since 9th December 1798; and lastly, on the death of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, his estates were taken possession of by France, as having devolved to her in virtue of the treaty of Madrid (Mar. 21, 1801,) although they were not annexed to that country till 1808. These acquisitions were made, on the political principle avowed by Bonaparte, which allowed every thing to be done that treaties did not expressly forbid.

The Peace of Campo Formio and Luneville had recognised the right of Switzerland to form a constitution for herself; and Alois Reding happening to be in Paris about the end of 1801, had obtained the consent of the First Consul for the re-establishment

of democracy in the petty cantons. From that time two parties rose who had long been kept down by force; and Switzerland experienced a series of revolutions, in which the Unionists or aristocratic party, and the Federalists or democratic, alternately had the ascendancy. At length a new Constitution, more aristocratic in its principles, was submitted for the approbation of the people. It was accepted by 72,453 citizens, and rejected by 92,423; but as 167,172 individuals, who had a right to vote, had disdained to exercise that privilege, the Helvetic Senate thought proper to reckon all the absentees among the acceptors; and the new constitution was introduced (July 3,) as having been sanctioned by a majority of the people. Bonaparte had given the Swiss to understand, that he relied on their willingness to be united to France; but, as the Helvetic government made a pretence of not comprehending that invitation, he withdrew his troops from Switzerland (July 20.) This was the signal for a civil war. The democratic cantons, who were assembled at Schweitz, restored the ancient confederation, to which most of the old cantons acceded. The central government, having no other support than the new cantons, and seeing themselves attacked even in their own territories, importuned the assistance of the First Consul. A French army, under the command of Ney, entered Switzerland, and re-established the government which was recommended by the First Consul. Bonaparte constituted himself an arbiter between the two parties, and summoned a Helvetic Council at Paris (Feb. 19, 1803,) and proclaimed the constitution of Switzerland, known by the name of the *Act of Mediation*. Switzerland thus became a federative Republic, composed of nineteen sovereign cantons. The constitution of each was more or less democratic; but the equality of the citizens formed the basis of them all. Once a year, a Diet was to assemble in one of the six principal cities in Switzerland in rotation. In these the *Landamman*, or chief magistrate of the district, was to preside. The first Landamman, M. Louis d'Affry, was nominated by Bonaparte.

Bonaparte played a conspicuous part in the negotiations for indemnifying those princes who had lost a part or the whole of their possessions, by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. He, in concert with the Emperor Alexander, was the principal arbiter in this important affair.

Without here entering into the details of these negotiations, we shall merely observe, that the main obstacle which had impeded the negotiations of Ratisbon being removed by the treaties which France concluded on this occasion, the deputation came to a final conclusion, known by the name of the *Recess* (or Re-

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solutions) of the *Deputation* (Feb. 25, 1803,) by which the arrangement regarding indemnities and territorial exchanges was brought to a determination.

The war between France and Great Britain was renewed in 1803. Public opinion in England had declared against the peace of Amiens, which was by no means favourable to her, considering the sacrifices which she had made. The British ministry repented having agreed to the surrender of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. They delayed the restoration of Malta under pretext that the guarantees had not been granted without restriction. The arbitrary and violent acts which Bonaparte had committed since the peace; and above all, the annexation of Piedmont to France, furnished a second motive for not evacuating an island so important from its position. After a very spirited negotiation, Great Britain agreed to restore Malta to its own inhabitants, and to acknowledge it as an independent State; only for the term of ten years, however, and on condition that the King of Naples would cede Lampedosa. The French troops were to evacuate the Batavian and Swiss Republics. On these terms England would recognise the Italian and Ligurian Republics, and the King of Etruria. His Majesty of Sardinia was to receive an adequate territorial provision in Italy. The first Consul having rejected this ultimatum, war was declared (May 18, 1803,) and all the English who were travelling or residing in France, arrested and detained as hostages.

Charles IV. King of Spain, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, had ceded Louisiana to France. When this news arrived in America, it spread consternation in the Republic of the United States. President Jefferson felt great reluctance in consenting to oppose, by a military force, the entry of the French into a country which would give them the command of the Mississippi. To prevent this, and from other motives, he directed the American minister in Paris to enter into a negotiation with the French government for the purchase of Louisiana, which was effected at Paris (Sept. 30, 1803.)

A French army, which was assembled in the Batavian Republic under the command of General Mortier, was despatched immediately after the declaration of war, to occupy the Electorate of Hanover, the patrimonial dominions of the King of Great Britain. The Government of that country concluded a capitulation at Suhlingen (June 3,) in virtue of which the native troops retired beyond the Elbe, while the French army were to occupy the country and its fortresses, and be maintained by the inhabitants. They likewise took possession of Cuxhaven and Retzel, belonging to the city of Hamburg. The German Empire

which had the mortification of seeing its interests regulated by two foreign powers, did not even protest against this violation of its territory. Bonaparte, deceived in his expectation of rendering the Cabinet of London compliant, annulled the capitulation of Sunlingen, and ordered Mortier to attack Count Walmoden, who commanded the Hanoverian army. The latter, however, laid down their arms, in consequence of a convention which was signed at Artlenberg (July 5.) After these proceedings, the mouths of the Elbe and Weser were immediately blockaded by an English squadron, which prevented the invaders from benefiting by the navigation of those rivers.

England had generously offered to acknowledge the neutrality of Holland, provided she could get the French troops to evacuate her territory. This measure, however, proved disastrous in its result for the Republic. Bonaparte laid them under obligation to maintain a body of 34,000 men, both French and Batavians; and to furnish five ships of war and five frigates, with a number of transports and sloops of war, for conveying to England 61,000 men and 4000 horses. After the conclusion of peace with the Emperor of Russia (Oct. 8, 1801,) Bonaparte had withdrawn his troops from the kingdom of Naples; but, by a forced interpretation of the treaty of Florence, he pretended that he had a right to send them back whenever he should happen to be at war with England. Ferdinand IV. was obliged to succumb; and in consequence of an arrangement with General St. Cyr (June 25, 1803,) the French again took possession of Abruzzi.

The loss of Trinidad, and the selling of Louisiana to the United States of America, had created no small coolness between the Court of Madrid and Bonaparte. Already had he brought an army near to Bayonne, which, under the command of General Augereau, threatened Spain. She, however, succeeded in evading the storm. As it was of much importance for her to avoid war with England, and on the other hand, as Bonaparte had more need of money than of ships, especially considering the nature of the attack which he meditated upon England, it was agreed by a secret treaty signed at Madrid (Oct. 30,) that Charles IV. should substitute money, instead of the succours which the nature of his former engagement bound him to furnish. The amount of this subsidy is not officially known. The hopes which this Monarch had entertained of escaping from the war were sadly disappointed. He was dragged into it towards the end of the following year.

Portugal likewise purchased her neutrality, by a convention which was signed between General Lannes, Bonaparte's mini-

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ter at Lisbon, and Don Manuel Pinto; the contents of which are not known with certainty.

From the breaking of the peace of Amiens to the second war with Austria, Bonaparte had employed himself about a project for effecting a landing in England, for which he had made immense preparations. All the ship-carpenters throughout France were put in requisition for the equipment of a flotilla intended to convey the armies of the Republic to the English shores. A multitudinous army, called the *Army of England*, was assembled on the coasts, extensive camps were formed, and convoys prepared for protecting the transportation of these invaders. In England, under the ministry of Mr. Pitt, vigorous measures of defence were adopted, by setting on foot a regular army of 180,000 men. The English Admirals frequently harassed the French shipping, and bombarded the towns situated upon the coasts. But from this there did not happen any result of importance.

St. Lucia, St. Peter, Miquelon, and Tobago, as also the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, fell into the hands of the English in the beginning of the year 1803. General Rochambeau, who had succeeded Le Clerc, concluded a capitulation at St. Domingo, with Dessalines the Black Chief, for the evacuation of Cape François; but as the English Admiral Duckworth blockaded it by sea, he was obliged to surrender with his whole army, which was transported to England. Dessalines, thus relieved from the French, proclaimed the independence of St. Domingo, or the island of Hayti, of which he assumed the government, under the title of Governor-General, for life.

Meantime, the plan of Bonaparte for disengaging himself from those political restraints which fettered his ambition, was growing to maturity. Three parties divided France—the Royalists, the Systematic Republicans, and the Jacobins. Of the two first, the one had always entertained hopes that Bonaparte would recall the Bourbons; and the other, that the moment was approaching when true liberty would take the place of despotism. General Moreau was regarded as the head of this party, if his character had at all made him a proper person to play an active game in public affairs. Bonaparte, who desired neither King nor Republic, was convinced that he could only arrive at his purpose by attaching to himself the Jacobin party. In order to inspire them with confidence, he felt that it was necessary to give them a pledge; this was, to be continually at variance with the other two parties, which they equally detested.

Bonaparte resolved to ruin Moreau, whom he mistrusted

Pichegru, Georges, Cadoudal, and other Royalist Chiefs, secretly entered France, believing that the time was now come for re-establishing royalty, and that Moreau would place himself at the head of the enterprise. Pichegru twice saw his old friend Moreau. He refused to take any part in a plot against the Government, but he was reluctant to betray this excellent man, whom Bonaparte hated, and who had been excepted by name from the general amnesty. His silence was sufficient to entangle him in a pretended conspiracy, with which the tribunals resounded.

Pichegru kept himself secreted in Paris for some days, but through the treachery of a friend he was at length discovered, arrested, and committed to prison, where he was found dead, on the morning of April 7th., a black handkerchief being twisted around his neck, and tightened by the twisting of a stick. No proof appeared against Moreau of taking any part in the conspiracy; but his own confession, that he had seen Pichegru twice, was deemed sufficient by his judges to justify his condemnation, for a high, although not capital crime; he was sentenced to two years imprisonment, which, by the intercession of his friends was commuted for the same period of exile. This distinguished General made choice of America, as his place of exile.

At this time another occurrence took place, which must ever form the darkest chapter in the history of Bonaparte—the arrest, condemnation, and execution of the Duke d'Enghien. This prince was living in retirement in the castle of Ettenheim, in the Dutchy of Baden, a neutral territory. On the evening of the 14th of March, a troop of French soldiers passed the frontier, surrounded the castle, and seized the prince, and all his attendants. He was immediately conveyed to Strasburgh, and from thence after a confinement of three days to Paris, where he was kept for a few hours in the Temple, and then removed to the neighbouring castle of Vincennes. On the night of the 20th he was charged by a military court, of which General Hulin was president, with having fought against France, being in the pay of England, plotting against the internal and external safety of the Republic, and having conspired against the life of the chief Consul. The court pronounced him guilty; the decision was immediately despatched to Bonaparte, and the sentence "condemned to death," which was written on the back of it, carried into execution at six o'clock the following morning. The charges alleged against him were unsupported by any evidence; but he persevered in declaring, that he would ever sustain the rights of his family, and that as a Condé, he could never enter France, but with arms in his hand.

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This last act paved the way for Bonaparte to ascend the throne. France had scarcely recovered from the stupor in which she had been plunged by the judicial murder of a Bourbon, when the Conservative Senate, who had perceived that the best way to please Bonaparte was not to wait till he should make his wishes known to them, presented an address, inviting him to complete the institutions necessary for tranquillizing the State (March 27.) At this signal of flattery, many of the Orders of the State were eager to express their desire that the power which was vested in Bonaparte, should be conferred on him by a hereditary title. One month was allowed to elapse, for preparing the public mind for the result. It was then that the First Consul, in replying to the address of the Senate, desired these Orders to explain themselves more clearly. The Tribunal took the merit of anticipating this explanation, by voting the re-establishment of hereditary monarchy in favour of Bonaparte and his family (April 30.) The Senate, not wishing to be behind in complaisance, acceded to the desire; and a decree of that Body declared Bonaparte Emperor of the French (May 18;) conferring on him the Imperial dignity, to be hereditary in himself, and his lawful or adopted sons, to the exclusion of his daughters; and failing the males, to his brothers Joseph and Louis, and their male descendants.

The same decree of the Senate made several important changes in the constitution, with the view of rendering it perfectly monarchical. Bonaparte accepted the dignity which had been conferred on him. He only asked, that the nation should be consulted upon the question of hereditary right. Wishing to legalize this attempt in the eyes of the people; he invited the sovereign Pontiff to Paris to crown him. This ceremony took place in the Church of Notre-Dame (Dec. 2, 1804;) and contrary to the general custom, Bonaparte put the crown on his own head, after which he placed it upon that of his spouse. Some weeks afterwards, in opening the Session of the Legislative Body, he solemnly declared, that, as he was satisfied with his grandeur, he would make no more additions to the Empire.

The base transaction of 21st March was followed up by an exchange of very violent letters, between the Russian ambassador at Paris, and the minister of Bonaparte. In addition to the indignation which that event had excited in Alexander, and which the prevailing tone of the notes of the French minister were not calculated to diminish; there was a dissatisfaction, on account of the non-execution of many of the conditions agreed to in the treaty of 10th October 1801. Alexander demanded, that th

French troops should be withdrawn from the kingdom of Naples, that Bonaparte should concert with him as to the principles upon which the affairs of Italy were to be regulated; that without delay he should indemnify the King of Sardinia, and evacuate Hanover (July 27, 1804.) To these, Bonaparte only replied by recriminations, when the two Courts recalled their respective ambassadors. The Emperor had not waited for this opportunity to employ means for setting bounds to the ambition of Bonaparte. By the declarations interchanged betwixt the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin (May 3, and 24,) it was agreed, that they should not allow the French troops in Germany to go beyond the frontier of Hanover; and that should this happen, each of these two Courts should employ 40,000 men to repel such an attempt. The Prussian declaration added, moreover, that there should be no dispute as to the countries situated to the west of the Weser. Not content with having thus provided for the security of the North of Germany, the Emperor Alexander immediately concerted measures with Austria, with the view of opposing a barrier to the usurpations of France. Declarations, in the shape of a convention, were exchanged between these two Courts before the end of the year; and they agreed to set on foot an army of 350,000 men.

The maritime war, like that of 1803, was limited to threats, and immense preparations on the part of Bonaparte, and on the part of Sir Sidney Smith, to attempt preventing the union of the French fleet, or for burning their shipping in their own ports. The English took possession of the Dutch colony of Surinam (May 4;) and towards the end of the year commenced hostilities against Spain.

The first six months of the year 1805 were marked by new aggrandizements on the part of Bonaparte in Italy. 1. A decree of the Estates of the Italian Republic assembled at Paris (Mar. 18,) proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte King of Italy; and it was stipulated that he should remit that crown to one of his legitimate or adopted sons, so soon as the foreign troops should have evacuated the kingdom of Naples (where there were no foreigners except the French troops,) the Seven Islands and Malta; and that henceforth the crowns of France and Italy should never be united in the same person. Bonaparte repaired to Milan (May 26,) where he was crowned with the iron crown of the Emperors of Germany, who were kings of Italy. Eugene Beauharnais, the son of the Empress Josephine, was appointed his viceroy. 2. He conferred the principality of Piombino, under the title of a hereditary fief of the French empire, on Eliza Bacciochi his sister, and her male descendants (May 25.) This completed the spoliation

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tion of the House of Buoncompagni, to whom that title and estate belonged, together with the greater part of the Isle of Elba. 3. The Senate and people of the Ligurian Republic demanded voluntarily, as is said, to be united to the French Empire. Their request was agreed to (June 5;) and the territory of that Republic was divided into three departments. 4. The Republic of Lucca demanded from Bonaparte a new constitution, and a prince of his family. By a constitutional statute (June 23,) that Republic was erected into a principality, under the protection of France; and conferred as a hereditary right on Felix Bacciochi, and his wife Eliza Bonaparte. 5. The States of Parma seemed destined to be given up by way of compensation to the King of Sardinia, together with the territory of Genoa; but Bonaparte, finding himself involved with the Emperor Alexander, caused them to be organized according to the system of France.

It was impossible for the sovereigns of Europe not to unite against a conqueror who seemed to apply to politics that maxim of the civil law, which makes every thing allowable that the laws do not forbid. We have already seen that Russia and Austria had concerted measures for setting bounds to these usurpations. But it was William Pitt, who was restored to the British ministry in the month of May 1804, that conceived the plan of the third coalition. Disdaining the petty resources which the preceding ministry had employed for harassing France, he conceived the idea of a grand European League, for the purpose of rescuing from the dominion of Bonaparte the countries which France had subdued since 1792, and for reducing that kingdom within its ancient limits. With regard to the territories which were to be taken from France, he proposed arrangements, by means of which they might form a barrier against her future projects of aggrandizement; and finally, to introduce into Europe a general system of public right. In fact, the plan of Mr. Pitt, which was communicated to the Russian government (June 19, 1805,) was the same as that which, ten years afterwards, was executed by the Grand Alliance. If this plan failed in 1805, it was only because they calculated on the participation of Prussia, as an indispensable condition; which they did not give up when that power had declared her resolution to preserve her neutrality.

By the treaty of April 11th, between Russia and Great Britain, it was agreed that the Emperor Alexander should make another attempt for arranging matters with Bonaparte, so as to prevent the war. M. de Novosilzoff, one of the Russian ministers, was sent to Paris. On his arrival at Berlin, he received the passports which the cabinet of Prussia had procured for him at Paris; but at the same time, he received an order from St. Petersburg

not to continue his journey. The annexation of the Ligurian Republic to France, at the moment when they were making conciliatory overtures to Bonaparte, appeared too serious an outrage for the Emperor to prosecute farther negotiations. War was consequently resolved on.

The preparations for the invasion of England had been carried on for some time with extraordinary vigour. Every thing seemed to announce, that Bonaparte meant to attempt that perilous enterprise. Part of his troops had already embarked (Aug. 27,) when all of a sudden the camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the army directed to move towards the Rhine, which it passed within a month after. Austria had set on foot three armies. The Archduke Charles commanded that of Italy, where it was expected a decisive blow was to be struck; the second army, under the command of the Archduke John, was stationed in the Tyrol, to maintain a communication with the third army on the Inn, which was commanded nominally by the Archduke Ferdinand the Emperor's cousin, but in reality by General Mack. The first Russian army under the command of General Kutusoff had arrived in Galicia, and was continuing its march in all haste. It was followed by another under Michelson. The Russian troops in Dalmatia were to attempt a landing in Italy.

The army of Mack passed the Inn (Sept. 8.) They had reckoned on the co-operation of the Elector of Bavaria; but that prince, who was always distrustful of Austria, abandoned the cause of the allies, and retired with his troops into Franconia. The Electors of Wurtemberg and Baden were desirous of concluding treaties of alliance with Bonaparte, after he had passed the Rhine; these treaties were signed at Ludwigsburg and Ettingen (Oct. 4, and 10.) The plan of Bonaparte was to cut off the army of Mack who had entered into Swabia, from that of Kutusoff which was marching through Austria. In this he succeeded, by presuming to violate the Prussian territory. Marmont who had come by way of Mayence, and Bernadotte who had conducted the army into Franconia, where they were joined by the Bavarians, traversed the country of Anspach, and came thus on the rear of the Austrian army (Oct. 6.) From that date scarcely a day passed without a battle favourable to the French. Several divisions of the Austrians were obliged to lay down their arms. Mack, who had thrown himself into Ulm, lost all resolution, and signed a capitulation (Oct. 17,) by which he promised to surrender if assistance did not arrive within eight days. He did not, however, wait for this delay. By a second capitulation two days after, he surrendered on the spot with 25,000 men.

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ry, with which the Archduke Ferdinand had opened himself a passage through Franconia; and 20,000 others with which Kienmayer had retired to Braunau, where he was met by the vanguard of Kutusoff. These two generals continued their retreat. The Russian army repassed the Danube near Grein (Nov. 9;) and directed their march towards the Morau. A few days after (Nov. 13,) Vienna, the capital of Austria, fell into the hands of the French. They passed the Danube near that city, and pursued the Russians. In the meantime General Buxhowden with the second Russian army, having joined Kutusoff at Olmutz, on the same day that the Emperor Alexander arrived in the camp, they conceived themselves strong enough to encounter the enemy, and immediately discontinued their retreat. The battle of Austerlitz, which Bonaparte fought (Dec. 2,) with the combined army of the Austrians and Russians, decided the campaign in his favour.

Meantime Bonaparte found himself in a position which might become dangerous. When the Archduke Charles had perceived that the French had concentrated their forces on the Danube, he sent supplies to General Mack, and commenced his retreat from Italy, that he might be nearer the centre of hostilities. This retreat he could not effect, except by hazarding several engagements with Massena, who continued the pursuit. When near Cilley he formed a junction with the Archduke John, who had retreated from the Tyrol (Nov. 27.) The united armies of these two princes amounted to 80,000 men, with whom they marched towards Vienna; while the Hungarians rose *en masse* to defend their sovereign. The next day after the battle of Austerlitz, the Russian army received a reinforcement of 12,000 men. An army composed of Prussians, Saxons, and Hessians were on the point of penetrating into Franconia; and some corps of Prussians, Russians, Swedes, Hanoverians, and English, had joined a second army in the north of Germany, ready to invade Belgium. Moreover, the English and the Russians were preparing to effect a landing in the kingdom of Naples.

It was in this critical moment that the Cabinet of Vienna signed an armistice at Austerlitz, by which they engaged to send back the Russian army, and to quell the insurrection in Hungary. Within twenty days after, peace was signed at Presburg between Austria and France (Dec. 26.) The former acknowledged all the claims of Bonaparte, and ceded to him, to form a part of the kingdom of Italy, the ancient states of Venice, with Dalmatia and Albania; and to his allies, the Elector of Baden and the new Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Tyrol and all her hereditary possessions in Swabia.

The violation of the Prussian territory in Franconia, had excited the most lively indignation at Berlin. The King resolved, sword in hand, to avenge this outrage against his royal dignity. The Prussian troops occupied Hanover, which the French had just evacuated; and that country was restored to its legitimate sovereign. A body of Russians, for whom they had till then vainly demanded a passage through Silesia, obtained permission to traverse that province to join the army of Kutusoff. The Emperor Alexander had himself arrived at Berlin (Oct. 25,) as well as the Archduke Anthony, Grand-Master of the Teutonic Knights. A convention was concluded at Potsdam (Nov. 3.) between Alexander and Frederic III. of Prussia. This latter prince joined the coalition, with the reservation of a preliminary attempt to obtain the assent of Bonaparte to conditions extremely equitable. In case these were rejected, Frederic promised to take the field with 180,000 men, who in fact, were put in a condition to march at the earliest notice. Count Haugwitz, who had been sent to Vienna as the bearer of overtures of peace to Bonaparte, accompanied with an energetic declaration, took it into his head that it would be prejudicial to the interests of Prussia were he to press the object of his commission; he resolved, therefore, to wait the course of events. After the truce of Austerlitz, he took it upon him to change the system of his government. Without having any sort of authority, he concluded an alliance with Bonaparte at Vienna (Dec. 15,) for the guarantee of their respective states, and for those of Bavaria and the Porte. Prussia was to cede the principality of Anspach to Bavaria; that of Neufchatel to France; and that of Cleves to a prince of the Empire, whom Bonaparte might name. In return Prussia was to get possession of the Electorate of Hanover.

When Count Haugwitz arrived at Berlin with the treaty, Frederic at first was inclined to reject it; but the minister having represented to him the danger to which this would expose him in the present state of affairs, the King reluctantly consented to ratify the treaty; provided a clause was added, that the occupation of the provinces mutually ceded should only be announced as provisional, until the King of England should give his assent, by a future treaty, to the cession of Hanover. It was in this manner that Prussia, in effect, got possession of that Electorate (Jan. 27, 1806.) Meantime, Count Haugwitz, who had repaired to Paris, found it impossible to obtain the acceptance of Bonaparte to the ratification of the treaty so modified. He then signed a second convention (Feb. 15,) by which Prussia engaged to declare the occupation of Hanover definitive; and to shut the rivers in the North of Germany against the English. The

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King of Prussia, who had already disbanded his army, found himself in a situation that obliged him to ratify that arrangement.

Bonaparte had made prodigious efforts to revive the French marine. The fleet at Rochefort, commanded by Admiral Misssiessy, had taken the opportunity of sailing from that port (Jan. 11, 1805.) They had set out with the intention of levying contributions in the Little Antilles, belonging to the English; and after throwing in supplies to General Ferrand who still kept possession of St. Domingo, they had returned without accident to Rochefort. The fleet at Toulon, consisting of fourteen vessels of the line, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, and having on board troops under the command of General Lauriston, probably destined for Ireland, had repaired to Cadiz (April 9,) where they were joined by the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gravina. Next day the two combined fleets sailed from that port, but afterwards separated. That under Villeneuve had proceeded to Martinico; but being apprised of the arrival of Lord Nelson at Barbadoes, Villeneuve again joined the Spanish Admiral, when the fleet returned to Europe. An engagement took place near Cape Finisterre (July 22,) which was honourable to Sir Robert Calder, the English Admiral, who captured two ships of the line. Being soon after considerably reinforced, and amounting to thirty-five ships of the line, they set sail for Cadiz, where a partial blockade was maintained for some time by Calder and Collingwood. But Nelson, who had been invested with the command of the English fleet, introduced the enemy, by means of a pretended retreat, to leave their station. An engagement took place off Cape Trafalgar (Oct. 21,) which cost the English Admiral his life, but which ruined the combined fleet. Villeneuve was made prisoner, and Gravina fled towards Cadiz with ten ships. This glorious victory secured to England the command of the sea.

When Bonaparte had made preparations for marching against Austria, he resolved to reinforce his army in Italy by the troops which occupied a part of the kingdom of Naples. To ingratiate himself with Ferdinand IV., he concluded a treaty with that prince (Sept. 21,) by which the latter, on obtaining the evacuation of his own states, promised to remain neutral. He did not depend, however, on that monarch's fulfilling his promise. It was a part of the plan of the allies, that the Russian and English armies should land in the kingdom of Naples; the one by the way of Corfu, and the other from Malta. The plan was carried into execution, and the foreign troops were received as friends. A decree of Napoleon, dated from Schoenbrunn (Dec. 27,) had declared that the dynasty of the Bourbons had ceased

to reign at Naples. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Russians and English abandoned Italy; and Ferdinand IV. found himself without defence, exposed to a French army, who were approaching his capital. He embarked for Sicily, when the French entered Naples (Jan. 1806,) and Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was created King of the Two Sicilies (March 30,) although his sway never extended farther than the kingdom of Naples.

Those are probably in a mistake, who imagine they find in the conduct of Bonaparte, the gradual development of a great plan, conceived before-hand; and springing from his head, so to speak, like the fabled Minerva from the brain of Jupiter. The circumstances in which he was placed, the success of his arms, and the weakness of foreign Cabinets, suggested to him one idea after another. It was when he was on his march against the Russians, that he received the news of the battle of Trafalgar, which had completely destroyed the labour of three years, and annihilated his hopes of reducing England by planting his standard on her soil. His imagination then conceived the plan of opposing one combination of strength to another, and surrounding France with a number of states, independent in appearance, but subject to the direction of the head of the Empire.

After the peace of Presburg, he had repaired to Munich, where he adopted his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, and declared him his successor in the kingdom of Italy. In announcing this elevation to the Senate, (Jan. 12, 1806,) he declared that he reserved to himself the right of determining the common tie which was to unite all the States composing the *Federative System of the French Empire*. This was the first time that this system was spoken of. In a short time after, he declared, that the whole peninsula of Italy made part of the Grand Empire. Finally, a constitutional statute of the Imperial family, which he published at that time (March 30,) may be regarded as the fundamental law of the Federative System he had lately announced. That statute granted to the Emperor of the French an absolute supremacy over all the sovereigns of his family; and he no doubt had great hopes, that the time would arrive when no others would be found in any of the adjacent states.

In annexing the Venetian provinces to the kingdom of Italy, Bonaparte detached from them Massa-Carrara and Carfagnana, which he bestowed on the Prince of Lucca. At the same time, he created within these provinces twelve duchies, as hereditary fiefs of the Empire, and three within the states of Parma; all of which he disposed of in favour of his generals and ministers.

The dutchy of Cleves, ceded by Prussia, as well as that of Berg which had been ceded to him by the King of Bavaria, were conferred, together with the hereditary dignity of Admiral of France, on his brother-in-law Joachim Murat (March 30.) Alexander Berthier was created Prince of Neufchatel (June 5.) At a later period, he granted the dutchy of Benevento to M. Talleyrand Perigord, under the title of Sovereign Principality; and the principality of Pontecorvo to Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, the brother-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte. He took these two territories from the States of the Church, under the pretext that their sovereignty was an object of litigation between the Courts of Rome and Naples; an allegation which was not true.

The continuation of the History of Bonaparte presents us with a series of new usurpations and aggressions. Towards the end of January, the French troops entered into the free city of Frankfort, where they levied four millions, to punish the inhabitants for their connexion with the English. Bonaparte was living at that time in the most perfect peace with the German Empire to which that city belonged, and which could not protect it. By the treaty of Presburg, the Bocca di Cattaro, in Dalmatia, was to be restored to the French; but the Russians, whose fleet was cruising off these coasts, immediately took possession of that place (Feb. 4,) at the moment when the Austrians were about to surrender it to the French. Bonaparte made this a pretext for refusing to give up to the Court of Vienna the fortress of Braunau, which he was to evacuate according to the stipulations of that same treaty, and for leaving a part of his army in Germany. He did more; he ordered General Lauriston, who commanded the French army in Dalmatia, to occupy Ragusa (May 27,) a Republic placed under the protection of the Porte, with whom there subsisted a treaty of peace. It was not, however, until the 13th August 1807, that Ragusa was formally united to the kingdom of Italy.

The Elector of Baden and the Princes of Nassau were obliged to make cessions to France. The former surrendered Kehl, and the latter Cassel and Kostheim, opposite Mayence. Wesei, a fortress in the dutchy of Cleves was likewise occupied by the French troops. All these were so many violations of the peace of Luneville, and the treaty of Vienna in 1805.

In order to promote this federative system, the States-General of the Batavian Republic received a hint to petition Bonaparte for a King. A treaty was in consequence concluded at Paris (March 24,) by which Louis, the brother of Napoleon, was created Hereditary and Constitutional King of Holland; the title to descend to his male issue. That young man accepted with

reluctance a crown which he had never coveted, and which he wore with much dignity.

William Pitt, whom history would have been proud to call the Great Pitt, had she not already given that title to his father, had died about the beginning of the year (Jan. 23.) Charles Fox, his former antagonist, succeeded him in the ministry. He immediately entered into negotiations for peace between France and England. This commission, on the part of the latter, was intrusted first to Lord Yarmouth and afterwards to Lord Lauderdale. After the death of Fox (Sept. 13,) the negotiations ended without having produced any change in the relations between France and England; nevertheless they deserve to be placed among the important events of that year, as they were the immediate cause of the war with Prussia, as we shall have occasion to mention.

The Emperor Alexander likewise made an attempt for a reconciliation with Bonaparte. He sent M. D'Oubril to Paris, who, after a negotiation of ten days, concluded a treaty with General Clarke, the French plenipotentiary, (July 20, 1806,) by which it was agreed that the Russian troops should evacuate the Bocca di Cattaro, and the French troops quit Ragusa; that the independence of the Republic of the Seven Islands should be acknowledged, as well as the independence and integrity of the Porte; that in three months the French troops should evacuate Germany; that the two parties should use their joint influence to procure a cessation of the war between Prussia and Sweden; that Bonaparte should accept the mediation of Russia, in negotiating a maritime peace. A secret article secured to Ferdinand IV. the Balearic Isles, in compensation for the kingdom of Naples. It thus appeared that the King of Sardinia was the greatest sufferer. The Emperor Alexander refused to ratify this treaty, whether it was that he considered the terms not altogether honourable, or that he was displeased with the conclusion of the Confederation of the Rhine, which took place at this time.

The Confederation of the Rhine was undoubtedly the most important consequence of the peace of Presburg. That event which entirely changed the state of Germany, and placed so large a portion of that Empire under obedience to Bonaparte, was prepared by the article of the peace which recognised the sovereignty of the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the Elector of Baden; as well as by several other irregular transactions which took place after that time. Such was the conduct of the Elector Arch-Chancellor, in arrogating to himself the right of appointing his own successor; and nominating Cardinal

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Fesch as such, who was Bonaparte's uncle. The Confederation of the Rhine was concluded at Paris (July 12, 1806,) between Bonaparte and sixteen of the German princes, including the Duke of Cleves, who separated from the Germanic Empire, and formed a particular union among themselves, under the protection of Bonaparte.

The declarations which the minister of France and those of the Confederated Estates, remitted on the same day to the Diet of Ratisbon, intimated to that assembly, that the German Empire had ceased to exist. The Chief of the Germanic body, who had been kept ignorant of all these measures, then published a spirited declaration (Aug. 6,) by which he resigned a crown which could only appear valuable in his eyes so long as he was able to fulfil the duties, and exercise the prerogatives which were attached to it.

This transaction, which put an end to the German Empire, had been kept a secret from Prussia. Bonaparte, in announcing to Frederic William the result which it had produced, invited him to form a similar confederation in the North of Germany; but at the same time, he negotiated privately with the Electors of Hesse and Saxony, to prevent them from entering into that union; and declared, that he could never permit the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubec, to become parties to it. In his negotiations with England, he proposed to make over these cities to Ferdinand IV. King of the Two Sicilies. He carried his stratagems even farther. He several times offered to the English plenipotentiaries the same Electorate of Hanover which, a few months before, he had almost compelled Prussia to claim as her own; and he offered to the Elector of Hesse the principality of Fulda, which had been granted to the House of Orange, then in strict alliance with that of Brandenburg. All these underhand manœuvres opened the eyes of the Cabinet of Berlin, which immediately resolved to declare war. Unfortunately for Prussia, she commenced hostilities without waiting the arrival of the supplies which Russia owed her, in virtue of the alliance between the two States by the treaty of Peterhoff (July 28, 1800;) and she had to take the field against an active enemy, whose warlike troops were already in the heart of Germany.

General Knobelsdorff, whom the King of Prussia had sent to Paris, gave in the demands which were to be considered as his ultimatum:—Bonaparte treated his propositions as extravagant and insulting, and accordingly commenced hostilities. The campaign was decided by the battle of Jena, or rather by two battles which were fought on the same day (Oct. 14, 1806.) Bonaparte in person gained the one near Jena over Prince Ho-

henlohe; Marshal Davoust gained the other near Auerstadt over the Duke of Brunswick, Commander-in-chief of the Prussian army. The rout was complete. For a short time the troops retired without confusion. The approach of the enemy's cavalry, however, extinguished all remains of order, and the most precipitate dispersion of the vanquished army ensued. About 20,000 were killed and wounded in the battle and pursuit; and the prisoners formed at least an equal number. The scattered remains of the troops who united after the action, were either defeated or obliged to surrender as prisoners of war. The King, with the wreck of his army, marched back to Prussia. Berlin, his capital, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The carelessness, the unskillfulness, or the treachery of their commanders, and the want of means of defence, were the causes why several fortresses, and whole battalions of troops, surrendered after a slight resistance. There were some who were even obliged to capitulate in spite of their bravery. At Erfurt, Field-Marshal Mellendorff capitulated with 14,000 men (Oct. 16.) Spandau fell on the same day that the enemy entered into Berlin (Oct. 25.) Prince Hohenlohe, after a brave defence, capitulated at Prentzlau (Oct. 29,) with a corps originally consisting of 16,000 infantry, and sixteen regiments of cavalry. Stettin and Custrin opened their gates after a slight resistance (Nov. 1.) At Lubec, 21,000 men, with General Blucher, laid down their arms (Nov. 7.) Magdeburg capitulated next day with 22,000 men.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, Bonaparte took possession of the principality of Fulda. He also sent a message to the old Duke of Brunswick, that none of his family should ever reign after him. That prince died of the wounds he had received at Auerstadt; and his lifeless body was not permitted to be deposited among the ashes of his ancestors. The Elector of Hesse, who had remained neutral, was declared an enemy to France, and his territories seized. Bonaparte, in return, granted neutrality to the Elector of Saxony, whose troops had fought against him at Jena.

The King of Prussia had tried to allay the storm which threatened his monarchy. The Marquis de Lucchesini and General Zastrow entered into a negotiation with Marshal Duroc at Charlottenburg (Oct. 30.) Bonaparte refused to ratify the preliminaries which were signed there, because the idea had occurred to him in the meantime of exciting the Poles to insurrection. An armistice was then signed (Nov. 16,) on conditions extremely rigorous, by which Breslau, Glogau, Colberg, Graudentz and Dantzic, were delivered up to the French. Frederic, who had

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resolved to throw himself on Russia, whose forces were approaching in haste, rejected that armistice. From Berlin Bonaparte repaired to Posen, where he concluded a treaty with the Elector of Saxony (Dec. 11.) That prince then assumed the title of King, joined the Confederation of the Rhine, and got possession of the Circle of Cöthlen, belonging to Prussia. By a treaty signed at the same place (Dec. 15,) the Dukes of Saxony, of the race of Ernest, were likewise received into the Confederation of the Rhine.

A Russian army of 90,000 men had arrived in Prussia in the month of November. Frederic William, on his side, formed a new army of 40,000 men. Several actions took place without any decisive result; but after the battle of Pultusk (Dec. 26,) where the victory was claimed both by the French and Russians, each party retired to winter quarters.

During Bonaparte's stay at Berlin, he conceived the idea of the Continental System; or at least reduced its elements into shape. The purport of this system was to ruin the commerce, and by consequence, the prosperity of England, by excluding from the Continent of Europe the importation not only of her own manufactures, but the productions of her colonies; the use of which had become, through long habit, one of the necessities of life to all the nations of Europe; and for which, moreover, no substitute could be found in home manufactures. This chimerical scheme, and the Federative System, which we have already mentioned, were the two scourges which Bonaparte inflicted on the Continent of Europe. The abuse, it was alleged, which the English made of their superiority by sea, had provoked Bonaparte to this measure. The right of blockade, that is, the right of a belligerent power to station a force before a hostile port sufficient to prevent any neutral vessel from entering, is founded in principle. But England pretended, that if a port were declared to be under blockade, it must be considered as actually blockaded; and accordingly, she had declared all the ports between Brest and the Elbe under blockade (May 16.) An order issued by Bonaparte, known by the name of the Decree of Berlin, declared the whole British Islands in a state of blockade, by way of reprisals (Nov. 21.) He commanded all British subjects to be arrested, who might be found in the countries occupied by his troops, or those of his allies. He ordered their property, and every article of British or colonial produce on the Continent to be confiscated; and excluded from his ports all vessels which should come directly from Britain, or any of its dependencies. The development of this system we shall notice afterwards.

The repose of the armies did not continue longer than a month. General Bennigsen, who had the chief command of the Russians and Prussians, undertook to relieve the cities of Graudenz, Dantzic, and Colberg. After a number of petty engagements, which claim no particular notice, the campaign was terminated by the battle of Eylau in Prussia (Feb. 8, 1807.) Bonaparte, or rather Davoust, was successful against the left wing and the centre of the allies; but Lestocq, the Prussian General, having arrived on the field of battle, near the right wing of the Prussians which had never been engaged, marched instantly to support the left wing which was giving way, and snatched the victory from the hands of Davoust. Bennigsen, who was in want of ammunition, retired towards Königsberg, leaving Bonaparte on the field of battle, which was covered with 30,000 of the French slain, and 12,000 wounded. The Russians had lost 17,000 men. After this carnage, Bonaparte announced that he had defeated the Russians, and retired behind the Passarge. Hostilities were then suspended for some months.

In the month of February, negotiations for peace were renewed. Bonaparte, who was at Osterode, sent General Bertrand to the King of Prussia at Memel, to try to detach him from Russia. When the King had declined this proposal, some deliberation took place as to the terms of an armistice; but the Emperor Alexander, who had also arrived at Memel, saw that this was only a manœuvre of Bonaparte, who merely wished to gain time to repair his losses. The negotiations, accordingly, were broken off. Baron Hardenberg, who had been placed by the King of Prussia at the helm of foreign affairs, then resumed the project of Mr. Pitt, which had failed in 1805, because Count Haugwitz, the former minister, had dissuaded Frederic William from entering into the alliance. The basis of a new coalition was laid by the convention of Bartenstein, between Russia and Prussia (April 21,) in which Austria, Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark, were invited to join. The same day a convention with the King of Sweden was likewise signed at Bartenstein, in consequence of which Prussia promised to send a body of troops into Pomerania. Austria was disposed to enter into this project, but before coming to a decision, she tried the scheme of mediation; and in the month of March, new proposals for peace were made, which proved unsuccessful. Supplies were promised to Prussia by a convention signed at London (June 27,) but which a change of circumstances prevented from being ratified.

While the armies continued in a kind of inaction, Marshal Lefebvre pressed the siege of Dantzic. After several attempts

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to blockade the place, General Kalkreuth obtained a capitulation on very honourable terms (May 24.) Neisse, Kozel and Glatz, likewise capitulated in course of the following month. These two latter places were not to be restored by the French. Hostilities recommenced in the month of June. Skirmishes were daily taking place, until the battle of Friedland decided the campaign (June 14.) General Bennigsen defeated the divisions of Lannes and Mortier, when the Russians, thinking the battle was gained as they no longer saw the enemy, slackened their exertions; but towards the evening Bonaparte arrived on the field of battle with guides, and the corps of Marshals Ney and Victor; and taking advantage of the confusion which appeared in the Russian army, he put them completely to the rout. In consequence of this defeat, Königsberg opened her gates to the conqueror. The Russian and Prussian armies passed the Nie men (June 18;) and next day Bonaparte entered Tilsit.

Meantime the Cabinet of Vienna, with whom negotiations were still carrying on to obtain their accession to the convention of Bartenstein, had sent General Stutterheim to the head-quarters of the two monarchs, with power to sign a defensive alliance; but the war had then recommenced with new vigour. There was a party in both Cabinets, and even among the allied Generals, who wished to prevent this alliance; and this party succeeded in their designs. A Russian General appeared at Tilsit on the part of Bennigsen to negotiate an armistice, which was concluded on the spot (June 21,) without including the Prussian army. Four days after, an interview took place between Alexander and Napoleon, on the invitation of the latter, who wished to exert all his address to seduce the Northern Autocrat from the alliance into which he had entered. This memorable interview took place on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen. Each prince, accompanied by five generals and courtiers, reached the raft from the opposite bank at the same moment, and embraced each other with all the appearance of perfect cordiality. They conversed for two hours in a pavilion, and the ambitious ruler of France displayed in such glowing colours the joys of arbitrary power and unlimited dominion, and held out such an attractive prospect of the advantages which he might derive from a union of councils and co-operation, that Alexander listened with pleasure to his new adviser, and was ready to rush into a new alliance. On the same day, Field Marshal Kalkreuth signed an armistice on the part of Prussia. The next day he had a second interview, at which the King of Prussia assisted, who, when he objected to some parts of the proposed treaty, was insulted with a hint of his not being enti-

ded to the honour of consultation, as he had been so completely conquered. It was on this occasion that Bonaparte demanded that the Emperor Alexander should dismiss his minister Baron Budberg, and the king of Prussia Baron Hardenberg. The Prince Kourakin, and Count de Goltz were substituted in their place.

The treaty with Russia was first signed (July 7.) The Emperor Alexander obtained from Bonaparte the spoliation of his former ally, or according to the form which was given to it in that transaction, *That the King of Prussia should recover one half of his estates.* The provinces which Prussia had obtained by the second and third division of Poland were ceded to the King of Saxony, under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the fortress of Graudentz, which remained in the possession of Prussia, and the city of Dantzic, which was to regain its independence, with the exception of the department of Bialystock which was annexed to the Russian Empire. Alexander acknowledged the Kings created by Bonaparte, including the King of Westphalia. He likewise acknowledged the Confederation of the Rhine, and ceded to Bonaparte the Seignory of Jever, which he inherited from his mother. He promised to withdraw his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia; and to make common cause with Bonaparte against England, should the latter refuse to make peace by submitting to the principles of free commerce by sea. It appears, moreover, by certain secret articles, that Alexander promised to surrender to Bonaparte the Bocca di Cattaro, and the isles of the Ionian Republic; which took place in the month of August following. The peace which was signed between Russia and Bonaparte two days after (July 9,) included nearly the same stipulations.

A special convention was required for executing the articles of the treaty, which related to the evacuation of the States of the King of Prussia. This was negotiated and signed at Koningsberg (July 12,) with unpardonable precipitancy, by Field-Marshal Kalkreuth, who forgot to insert certain stipulations so essential and so obvious, that it must have appeared to him superfluous to mention them. Bonaparte took advantage of these omissions to ruin the provinces which were left in possession of Prussia. It may be justly said, that the convention of Koningsberg did nearly as much mischief to Prussia as the peace of Tilsit itself. It occasioned the necessity of signing a series of subsequent conventions, by each of which Prussia had to submit to some new sacrifice. Some of the more important of these we shall afterwards have occasion to mention.

The King of Sweden, who was attacked in Pomerania by Marshal Mortier, had concluded an armistice at Schlattkorp

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(April 18.) Gustavus Adolphus IV. projected an attack on Marshal Brune, while a body of 10,000 Prussians were to make a descent for blockading Colberg. To carry this project into execution, he was so eager to declare against the armistice, that, on the signature of the peace of Tilsit, he found himself alone under arms, and exposing his troops to great danger. This unseasonable zeal obliged him to evacuate Stralsund and the whole of Pomerania (Sept. 7.)

In erecting the Dutchy of Warsaw, Bonaparte had given it a constitution modelled after that of France, without paying attention to the difference of manners, customs, and localities of the inhabitants. The King of Saxony was put in possession of that State; but the new dutchy was nothing else than a province of the French Empire. The city of Dantzic was again plunged into a state of the most abject dependence; and until the year 1814, it remained under the orders of a Governor-general appointed by the French. The throne of Westphalia was destined by Bonaparte for his younger brother Jerome. That monarchy was composed of the greater part of those provinces ceded by the King of Prussia; of nearly all the estates of the Elector of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick; of a district belonging to the Electorate of Hanover; of the principality of Corvey, and the county of Rittberg—containing in all about two millions of inhabitants. Only a small part of this kingdom was situated in Westphalia; and it is not known by what chance the name of that country was selected for the new monarchy. Deputies from that kingdom were summoned to Paris, where they received from the hands of Bonaparte a constitutional charter (Nov. 15,) in the construction of which they had never once been consulted. As to the other districts which Bonaparte had taken possession of in Germany, or of which he had deprived their rightful sovereigns, viz. the Electorate of Hanover, the principalities of Erfurt, Fulda, Baireuth, and Munster, with the counties of Catzenelnbogen and Hanau, they were governed entirely to his own interest, and disposed of at his convenience.

While the armies of Bonaparte were occupied in Prussia, Spain formed the resolution of shaking off the yoke which the Emperor of France had imposed upon her. Charles IV. solicited privately the mediation of the Emperor Alexander, to bring about a peace with England. By a proclamation of October 30th 1806, a levy of 40,000 men was ordered for the defence of the country, without mentioning against what enemy. This imprudent step, which they had not courage to prosecute, ruined Spain. At the commencement of 1807, a French army was assembled in the vicinity of Bayonne. A trap was laid for Charles

IV. ; and he had the misfortune to fall into it. According to a convention signed at Fountainebleau (Oct. 27,) between his plenipotentiary and that of Bonaparte, for the partition of Portugal, that kingdom was to be divided into three lots. The most northerly part was destined for the King of Etruria, (who was to surrender up Tuscany to Bonaparte,) and to be called the kingdom of Northern Lusitania. The southern part, comprising Algarves, was to form a principality for Don Manuel Godoy. The provinces in the middle part were to be disposed of at the general peace, when the King of Spain was to assume the title of Emperor of the two Americas.

Immediately after the signing of this treaty, Bonaparte announced to the Queen-Dowager of Etruria, who was Regent for her son Louis II., that the kingdom no longer belonged to him; and that a new destiny awaited him in Spain. In course of a few days, the French troops occupied Tuscany. Maria Louisa resigned the government, and retired to Madrid. All this took place after Bonaparte had obtained orders that the 15,000 Spaniards, who were in Etruria, should be sent to the islands of Denmark.

A decree of the French Senate, of August 18th 1807, though not published till a month after, suppressed the Tribunate, and introduced other changes, intended to extinguish all traces of the Republic. By a treaty signed at Fountainebleau, Bonaparte made over to his brother Louis, the principality of East Friesland and the territory of Jever, in lieu of the city and port of Flushing.

In terms of the treaty of the 27th October, 30,000 French troops, under the command of Junot, crossed the Pyrenees in two divisions; and took possession of Pampeluna, St. Sebastians, Figueras, and Barcelona. The two divisions united again at Salamanca, and being reinforced by 13,000 Spaniards, they marched upon Lisbon; while 40,000 others assembled at Bayonne, under the pretence of supporting their companions if it were necessary. The Prince Regent of Portugal embarked with all his treasures (Nov. 29,) and departed for Brazil. The whole of Portugal was taken possession of; and General Junot proclaimed that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe; but the French never executed their scheme of partition.

We have already observed, what progress the Federative system of the French Empire had made in 1807, by the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia and the dutchy of Warsaw, and by the occupation of Portugal; and we shall next advert to the measures adopted during the same year by Bonaparte, for consolidating the Continental system, and by Great Britain for counteracting its effects. An order was issued by the British

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Cabinet (Jan. 7,) declaring that no neutral vesse. would be permitted to trade with any port belonging to France or her allies, or occupied by their troops, or under their dependence. A decree, published at Warsaw (Jan. 25,) ordered the confiscation of all English merchandise in the Hansentia towns, which had been occupied by the order of Bonaparte. An order of the British Cabinet (March 11,) again prescribed a rigorous blockade of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. A declaration was made by Bonaparte (Oct. 14,) in presence of the foreign ambassadors at Fountainbleau, purporting that he would permit no connexion, either commercial or diplomatic, between the Continental powers and England. An order of the British Cabinet (Nov. 11,) declared, that all the ports and places in France, and the countries in alliance with them, or any other country at war with England, as well as all other ports and places in Europe where the British flag was excluded, though not actually at war with Great Britain; and all other ports and places of the colonies belonging to her enemies, should hence forth be subjected to the same restrictions as if they were really under blockade; and, consequently, that the vessels destined for these ports should be subjected to examination by the British cruisers; and required to stop at a British station, and pay a duty proportioned to the value of the cargo. Another order of the British Cabinet (Nov. 25,) modified the preceding declaration in favour of neutral vessels, which should come to discharge either English merchandise or Colonial produce in the British ports. A decree of the 17th December, called the decree of Milan, because it was issued at that place, declared, that all ships which should be searched by a British vessel, or pay any tax whatever at the requisition of the English Government, should be denationalized, and regarded as English property; and having thus forfeited their original and national rights, they might be lawfully captured wherever found. The same decree declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade both by sea and land.

Having thus established the Continental system, Bonaparte used every endeavour to make all the Continental Powers accede to it. Prussia and Russia adhered to it, after the peace of Tilsit. Denmark soon entered into this French system. Spain acceded to it (Jan. 8,) Austria (Feb. 18, 1808,) and Sweden (Jan. 6, 1810;) so that, for some years, the Continent of Europe had no other medium of communication with England than by way of Constantinople. There was one prince in Christendom, who refused his accession to the Continental system, and that was Pius VII. This sovereign Pontiff declared, that an

alliance which prohibited all intercourse with a nation from whom they had suffered no grievance, was contrary to religion. In order to punish his Holiness for this resistance, General Miollis had orders to occupy Rome (Feb. 2, 1808.) This was the commencement of a series of aggressions and attacks, by which Bonaparte vainly hoped to bend that great personage. To gratify his resentment, he stripped the States of the Church, by a decree issued at St. Cloud (April 2,) of the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata and Camerino, which were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In order to add lustre to his crown, and to attach his servants to him by the ties of interest, Bonaparte resolved, not to restore the noblesse—though there was no reason known why he should not—but to create titles of nobility which should pass in hereditary succession to their descendants. These titles were those of Princes, Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Chevaliers or Knights. They were constituted by an Imperial statute which he transmitted to the Senate; for the decrees of the Senate were seldom used, except in declaring the union of territories, or ordering levies of conscripts.

The spoliation of the Church appeared but a trivial violence compared with that masterpiece of intrigue and cunning by which the House of Bourbon was deprived of the throne of Spain. The second French army formed at Bayonne, passed the Pyrenees about the beginning of the year, under the command of Joachim Murat, and advanced slowly as if it only waited an order to seize the capital. A popular insurrection broke out at Madrid, directed against Godoy, the Prince of Peace; and Charles IV., who, from the commencement of his reign, had been disgusted with state affairs, abdicated the crown in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias (March 19, 1808,) who assumed the title of Ferdinand VII. The intrigues of the Queen-mother, who was unwilling to quit the throne, and the plots concerted by Mr. [unclear] embroiled the Royal family in disputes. The French troops entered Madrid (Mar. 23.) Taking advantage of the inexperience of the young monarch, they inveigled him in an interview with Bonaparte at Bayonne, where Charles IV. and his Queen, allured by promises of favour and friendship, likewise presented themselves. This weak prince there retracted his abdication, and ceded his dominions over to Bonaparte by a formal treaty (May 5.) By threatening Ferdinand VII. with death, they extorted from him a similar declaration (May 10.) Charles IV. his Queen, and the Prince of Peace were conveyed to Compeigne, and afterwards to Marzeilles.

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Ferdinand VII. and his brothers were imprisoned in the castle of Valencay. Bonaparte conferred the throne of Spain on his brother Joseph (June 6,) who was then King of Naples. A Spanish Junta, assembled at Bayonne, received a constitution from the hands of Napoleon. On obtaining the crown of Spain, Joseph made over the kingdom of Naples to his brother, who in his turn resigned it to Murat, by a treaty concluded at Bayonne. Murat then gave up the duchies of Cleves and Berg.

Bonaparte found himself deceived as to the character of the Spanish nation, when he supposed they would tolerate this outrage with impunity. A tumult of the inhabitants of Madrid was quelled by Murat, who ordered his troops to fire upon the crowd (May 2,) when upwards of 1000 people lost their lives. Towards the end of the same month, a general insurrection broke out in all those parts of Spain not occupied by the enemy. This was a great annoyance to Bonaparte during the rest of his reign, and prevented him from subduing that peninsula. It served as an example and encouragement to other nations to shake off his yoke. The Portuguese rose, in imitation of their neighbours. The English sent supplies to both nations; and it was beyond the Pyrenees that Bonaparte experienced those first disasters which were the harbingers of his downfall.

One event, more remarkable for the pomp with which it was accompanied, than for the consequences which it produced, was the interview which took place at Erfurt (Sept. 27,) between the Emperor Alexander and Bonaparte. What negotiations might have been agitated there, are not known with certainty; but publicity has been given to the measures concerted in common between Bonaparte and Alexander for making overtures of peace to England, although they must have foreseen that the attempt would prove fruitless. From that time an intimate friendship subsisted for two years between the Courts of Russia and France.

The inconsiderate haste with which Field-Marshal Kalkreuth had concluded the convention of Koningsberg, and the defects or omissions of that act, furnished the agents of Bonaparte with numerous pretexts for oppressing the Prussian States by perpetual aggressions; and for continuing not only to occupy the country, but to impose taxes for the service of France, without deducting their amount from the usual contribution which that kingdom had to pay. To extricate themselves from so harassing a situation, Prince William, the King's brother, who had been sent to Paris to negotiate for the evacuation of Prussia, signed a convention there (Sept. 8,) by which the King engaged to pay, at stated terms, the sum of 140 000,000 francs. The Em

peror Alexander, during the interview of Erfurt, got this sum reduced to one hundred and twenty millions. In consequence of this, a new convention was signed at Berlin (Nov. 3,) according to which, Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau, were to remain in the hands of the French, as security for payment of the stipulated sum; the rest of the Prussian states were evacuated.

Austria was on the point of entering into the fourth coalition, when the peace of Tilsit was concluded. From that moment the Cabinet of Vienna resolved to prepare for war by slow and successive operations, which might appear to be merely measures of precaution; more especially by organizing her armies on better principles, and training all the citizens to arms, by the institution of a militia called *Landwehr*, that they might be in condition to act on the spur of the moment. The Archduke Charles, who was appointed Generalissimo, superintended all these preparations, and succeeded in reviving the courage of the nation. Although these armaments could not escape the notice of the French agents, and although in the course of the year 1808, and especially in the beginning of the year 1809, they had several times asked for explanations on this subject, nevertheless, Count Stadion who was at the head of the department for foreign affairs, and Count Metternich the Austrian minister at Paris, dissembled so well, that Bonaparte never dreamt of war till it was on the very point of breaking out. The time chosen for this was when the French armies were occupied in Spain and Portugal.

Reasons—or it may be rather said prettexts—were not wanting to Austria; for undoubtedly her true motive was, to raise herself from that state of abasement into which she had sunk. Violations innumerable of the peace of Presburg, the organizing of the Confederation of the Rhine, the compelling her to accede to the Continental System, and the spoliation of the Bourbons in Spain, were causes more than sufficient to justify her having recourse to arms. The war which Austria undertook in 1809, has been called the war of the fifth coalition. It is true that Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, and the King of Sicily, were her allies; but, with the exception of the descent which the English made on Zealand, she had to support alone the whole burden of the war. On opening the campaign, she made an appeal to the German nation, which was answered by the Kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, by a declaration of war.

The Austrians had divided their forces into three armies; two hundred and twenty thousand men, under the Archduke Charles, were destined to act in Germany; the Archduke Fer-

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dinand of Esté, with thirty-six thousand men, was to penetrate through the dutchy of Warsaw into Prussia, where he expected to be joined by the troops of that country. The Archduke John, with eighty thousand men, was to enter Italy. The campaign was opened, on the part of the Austrians, by the invasion of Bavaria (April 10, 1809.) Bonaparte at first beat the Archduke Louis and General Hiller, who commanded two divisions, at Abensberg (April 20,) and thus cut them off from the grand army under the Archduke Charles. The latter was himself defeated at Eckmühl and Ratisbon, three days after, and effected his retreat along the left bank of the Danube. Bonaparte then pursued Hiller, who was defeated at Ebersberg (May 3,) and retired to Krems, on the left bank of the Danube. Vienna in consequence was left defenceless, and surrendered by capitulation (May 13.) It was there that Bonaparte passed the Danube, and fought with the Archduke at Eberdsorff, Aspern and Essling, two most sanguinary engagements (May 21—22,) in which the French lost 30,000 men. He then retired to the Isle of Lobau, where his army, cut off from provisions and supplies, passed forty-eight hours in great distress, until they had succeeded in reconstructing the bridges which the floods of the Danube had carried away. In Italy the Archduke John had defeated Eugene Beauharnais, who commanded the French army, at Sacilè; but being informed of the defeat at Ratisbon, he commenced his retreat, and was defeated near the Pieve (May 3,) after which he retired on the Raab, where he was again defeated (June 14.) Beauharnais then joined the army of Napoleon. The Archduke Ferdinand took possession of Warsaw, and marched as far as Thorn, where he took from the Prussians one hundred pieces of cannon. But an insurrection which happened in the rear of his army, obliged him to retreat, when the Polish troops took possession of Cracow (July 14.)

About the beginning of July, Bonaparte passed over to the left bank of the Rhine. The battle of Enzersdorff, where Bernadotte and the Saxons distinguished themselves, was bloody, but not decisive: next day (July 6,) the Archduke Charles was defeated at Wagram, and retreated in good order into Moravia. An armistice was then concluded near Znaim (July 12,) on conditions very oppressive for Austria. But the negotiations for peace were long protracted; as both parties were waiting the result of an expedition which the English had made to Zealand; and as Austria hoped that Prussia, and perhaps even Russia, would declare in her favour.

The inhabitants of the Tyrol; who were very much attached to the House of Austria, from whom they had been separated at

the peace of Presburg, had taken up arms under the conduct of an innkeeper, named Hoffer. By the armistice of Znaym, Austria was compelled to abandon this brave people, whom the Bavarians and the French together had great difficulty in reducing to submission.

We cannot pass in silence the bold expedition made by the Duke of Brunswick, the son and heir of him who had commanded at Jena. At the head of a body of volunteers which he had formed in Bohemia, he had entered Saxony when the armistice was concluded. Not being disposed to accede to it, he traversed the dutchy of Brunswick and the whole of Lower Saxony; beat the Westphalian General Rewbel, who had attempted to stop his march; and reached the mouth of the Elbe in safety, where he found transports which took him and his army on board, and conveyed them to England.

An English fleet, commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, with thirty-eight thousand troops, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, the brother of Mr. Pitt, was despatched to Zealand, with the intent of destroying the shipping, dockyards, and arsenals at Antwerp and Flushing, and for occupying the Island of Walcheren. They landed in that Island (July 30,) of which they took possession, and made themselves masters of Flushing, after a siege of fifteen days. But Lord Chatham found it impossible to execute his commission with regard to Antwerp, on account of the activity of Marshal Bernadotte, who had formed there an army of 35,000 men. The whole expedition was badly conducted, and in about four months Lord Chatham returned to England. The English destroyed the fortifications of Flushing, which they were unable to retain.

Russia, as the ally of France, likewise took part in this war. A body of troops, commanded by Prince Galitzin, had entered into Galicia; but it was merely a display, by which Alexander meant to fulfil an engagement that he had contracted with reluctance. The peace between Austria and France was signed at Schoenbrunn (Oct. 14, 1809,) which regulated the territorial cessions made by the former to Bonaparte, the King of Saxony and the Emperor of Russia. The very day on which the peace was signed, Bonaparte united the territories which had been ceded to him directly into a single State, under the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*, which he governed on his own separate account, without annexing them to France.

A decree of the Senate, of the 2d March 1809, erected the government general of the Tuscan departments into a grand dignity of the Empire, to be conferred on a Princess of the Imperial blood, under the title of Grand Dutchess. This lady was

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Madam Eliza Bacciocchi, Princess of Lucca and Piombino, who was next day decorated with the Arch-ducal title. On the same day, Napoleon ceded the Grand Duchy of Berg to his nephew, the son of the King of Holland; taking the government on himself during the minority of that child.

No outrage had been able to overcome the perseverance of Pius VII. Bonaparte published a decree at Schoenbrunn (May 17,) by which the States of the Pope were annexed to the French Empire, and the city of Rome declared a free Imperial city. The union of the States did take place; but Rome had no appearance of a free city. When the decree was put in execution (June 11,) the Pope published a Bull of excommunication against Bonaparte and his adherents, counsellors, and coadjutors. From that moment the venerable captive was more closely imprisoned. On the night of the 5th of July, he was forcibly removed from Rome by order of Napoleon, and transferred to Grenoble, and thence to Savona, where he was detained three years under rigorous supervision.

The year 1809 proved disastrous for the French arms by sea. The captain of an English vessel and Marques, a Portuguese colonel, took possession of the Island of Cayenne and French Guiana (Jan. 12.) Lieutenant-General Beckwith and Rear-Admiral Cochrane took Martinico by capitulation (Feb. 12.) Admiral Gambier and Lord Cochrane destroyed a French fleet, commanded by the Vice-Admirals Villameuz and L'Allemand (April 11,) in Basque Roads, by means of Congreve rockets. The French fort of Senegal fell into the hands of the English in the month of June following. General Carmichael, and a body of Spaniards who had arrived from Portorico, expelled the French from St. Domingo (July 7.) Admiral Collingwood and General Oswald took possession of the Ionian Islands (Oct. 8.)

Bonaparte had now arrived at the summit of his grandeur, but Providence had denied him a family by his wife Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie. With the consent of both parties, a decree of the Senate pronounced the dissolution of that marriage (Dec. 16;) which the ecclesiastical court of Paris confirmed. Another decree of the Senate (Feb. 17, 1810,) conferred on the eldest son of the French Emperor the title of King of Rome; and ordained, that the Emperor of the French should be crowned a second time at Rome within the ten first years of his reign. Bonaparte soon after (April 1,) espoused the Arch-dutchess Maria Louisa, eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria.

By a treaty of peace concluded at Paris, between Bonaparte and Charles XIII. of Sweden, this latter prince regained possession of Swedish Pomerania on condition of acceding to the Con

tinental system, though under certain modifications. Had Charles executed this engagement, his kingdom would have been ruined beyond resource. The part of the Hanoverian States belonging to the King of England which Bonaparte had still reserved in his own possession, was ceded by a treaty concluded at Paris (Jan. 14,) to his brother Jerome, to be incorporated with the kingdom of Westphalia. Besides the dutchy of Lauenberg, Bonaparte reserved to himself a landed revenue of four millions five hundred and fifty-nine thousand francs, for bestowing in legacies and endowments.

Louis Bonaparte had reluctantly accepted the crown of Holland; but from the moment he had placed it on his head, he devoted himself to the interests of the country; and resisted, as far as prudence would allow, the arbitrary orders of his brother, when he judged them prejudicial to the welfare of Holland. This gave rise to frequent broils, accompanied sometimes with threats. Bonaparte reproached the Dutch Government, more especially for not earnestly and rigorously enforcing the Continental system, so pernicious to their commerce. At the beginning of the year 1810, things had come to such a state, that it was expected Napoleon would cancel the kingdom of Holland from the list of European States. To avert this calamity, Louis signed a treaty at Paris (March 16,) by which a body of 12,000 Dutch and 6000 French were to be stationed at the mouths of all the rivers, to protect the French revenue-officers who were superintending the execution of Bonaparte's orders. Louis ceded to him Dutch Brabant, Zealand, and a part of Gueldres, of which the Waal was henceforth to form the frontier. In vain did that excellent man hope, by so great a sacrifice, to repurchase the independence of his kingdom. Under pretext of certain insults which the French agents had received at the hands of this exasperated people, Bonaparte sent a French army to occupy the whole country. Then Louis resigned a crown which he could no longer wear with honour; he abdicated in favour of his son (July 3.) But Napoleon, indignant at a measure on which he had not been consulted, annexed the kingdom of Holland to the French Empire, by a decree dated at Rambouillet (July 9.)

Some months afterwards, the Republic of Valais, which, since the year 1802, had formed an independent State, was united to the French Empire by a decree of Bonaparte (Nov. 12.) But the most important of his usurpations in 1810, and that which was instrumental in working his downfall, was the union of the Hanseatic countries situated on the coasts of the North Sea, viz. certain districts of Westphalia and the Grand Dutchy of Berg

some possessions of the princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, part of the dutchy of Oldenburg, the free cities of Brémien and Hamburg, as well as the city of Lubec and the dutchy of Lauenburg. By a decree of the Senate (Dec. 13,) these places were declared united to France; the necessity of which Bonaparte had stated in a message addressed to these pliant and submissive bodies.

France still retained possession of Guadaloupe, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Mauritius. The year 1810, in which the greatness of Bonaparte in Europe reached its summit, deprived him of these possessions. General Beckwith and Admiral Cochrane, attacked and seized Guadaloupe. An expedition sent by Lord Minto, the English Governor-General in India, and a thousand men from the Cape, reduced the Isle of Bourbon (July 7,) and that of the Mauritius some months after.

It will now be necessary to point out some of the modifications which the Continental system underwent. The English had shown some disposition to put an end to that unnatural state of commerce which preceding measures had established. They first modified the Orders of 1807 regarding America; so that the Americans were permitted, under certain conditions, to carry on trade in all ports subject to French influence, which were not actually under blockade; and the law of blockade was even restricted to the ports of Holland and France, and those of the northern part of Italy, between Pesaro and Orbitello. The clause in the decree of 11th November, relative to the payment of a compulsory duty in England, was abolished.

A new era in the Continental system began with a decree of Bonaparte (Aug. 7,) known by the name of *The Decree or Tariff of Trianon*. A second, by way of supplement, was issued from St. Cloud (Sept. 12.) Making a distinction between the trade and the produce of the colonies; and availing himself of the universal custom which had rendered the latter among the necessities of life, he resolved to take advantage of this circumstance to replenish his treasury, by permitting their importation on paying an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent. A third decree, signed at Fontainebleau, ordered all English merchandise, found in France or her dependencies, to be seized and burnt. At that time, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, were covered with bonfires, which destroyed the property of native merchants, and opened a new prospect for English manufactures one day to replace the articles that were thus wantonly consumed.

We shall now give a short outline of the most remarkable events that took place in the rest of Europe, during this period of French preponderance.

For more than six years Portugal, by means of the pecuniary sacrifices which she had made to the French crown, had maintained her neutrality between France and England. But as she had betrayed her predilection for England during the Prussian war, her ruin was determined on; and as she could no longer conceal from herself the danger of her position, the Prince Regent entered into a strict alliance with Great Britain, by a convention signed at London (Oct. 22, 1807.) General Junot had taken possession of the country after the Royal family had embarked for Brazil; and solemnly declared, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe (Feb. 1, 1808.) Following the example of the Spaniards, the Portuguese soon shook off the yoke of the oppressor. The city of Oporto gave the first signal of insurrection (June 6;) an English army, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, landed in Mondego Bay (July 31.) and defeated Junot at Vimeiro (Aug. 21.) The French General, whose army was reduced to a most distressing state, obtained from General Dalrymple, who had taken the command of the English troops, a capitulation on very honourable terms, which was concluded at Cintra (Aug. 30.) Junot, and his troops, were conveyed to France in English vessels.

The Russian Admiral Siniawin was not so fortunate. He was then lying in the Tagus with a fleet of nine ships of the line, and a frigate, which had been employed in the war against the Turks in the Archipelago, and found himself under the necessity of surrendering his fleet to Sir Charles Cotton the English Admiral (Sept. 3,) which was not to be restored to the Emperor until the conclusion of a pacific treaty between Russia and Great Britain. The convention of Cintra, of which the true circumstances are not well known, excited so great a discontent in England, that Sir Heu Dalrymple and Sir Arthur Wellesley were called home, that an investigation might be made into this unpopular measure.

During their absence, and after the affair of Corunna, Soult received orders to attempt the conquest of Portugal, where there were not more than 8000 English troops, under the command of General Craddock, and an army of the natives. At the head of 23,000 men he marched towards Chaves, and took possession of that place (March 7,) which is one of the frontier fortresses of the kingdom. But on his arrival at Oporto he encountered the Portuguese army, who for three days disputed with him the possession of the place. Here he remained a full month before he durst proceed on his march. Meantime General Wellesley had landed at Lisbon with a new English army. He manœuvred so well that by the end of May, Soult was obliged to retire

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into Galicia, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. Next year the French sent a third expedition to Portugal, but as this belongs more properly to the war in Spain, we shall take occasion to notice it afterwards. After the retreat of Soult, the Portuguese acted a considerable part in the liberation of Europe. General Wellesley, who was intrusted with very extensive powers, organized their army, and augmented it to 40,000 men, with the assistance of 600,000*l.* Sterling, which England furnished for that purpose.

The connexion between Great Britain and Portugal, became still more intimate by the treaty of alliance which was concluded at Rio Janeiro (Feb. 19, 1811.) George III. there promised never to recognise any King of Portugal but the heir and legitimate representative of the House of Braganza. The Regent granted Britain the right of building ships of war in Brazil, and of supplying themselves with timber for the purpose from the forests of that country; and by abrogating certain former stipulations, he agreed to receive into his ports as many British vessels as chose to enter. The Regent likewise promised to co-operate with England for the abolition of the Slave Trade; and this is the first example of a stipulation of the kind. Together with this treaty there was also concluded a treaty of commerce. Towards the end of 1810 Portugal became the theatre of war, as we shall observe when we come to speak of Spain.

Charles IV. King of Spain, had flattered himself that by submitting to the payment of subsidies to France, according to the treaty of October 30, 1803, he would be exempted from the necessity of taking part in the war which had broken out between Bonaparte and England; and it was on the faith of this that the latter power had commenced hostilities. Four Spanish ships returning to Europe, loaded with treasures and valuable merchandise from South America, were seized off Cape St. Mary (Oct. 5, 1804,) by an English squadron. After that act of hostility, which, but for the negotiation that had preceded it, might have been regarded as a violation of the law of nations, Charles IV. declared war against England (Dec. 12;) and the following year he had the mortification to see his marine totally destroyed by the battle of Trafalgar, which Admiral Nelson gained over the combined fleets of Gravina and Villeneuve.

In 1806 the English made an attempt to get possession of the Spanish colony of Buenos Ayres. The expedition sailed from St. Helena under the command of Admiral Sir Home Popham. The troops were commanded by General Beresford. Buenos Ayres capitulated on the 2d July; there the English found numerous treasures which were transported to Europe; but an

insurrection of the inhabitants, headed by a Spaniard named Pueridon, and Liniers a native of France, obliged General Beresford to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war (Aug. 12.) Admiral Popham took possession of Maldonado (Oct. 29,) where he remained in expectation of the supplies which he expected to come from England. General Auchmuty landed at Maldonado in the beginning of the following year, and took the town of Monte Video by assault (Feb. 2.) New reinforcements having arrived from England, General Whitelocke again attacked Buenos Ayres, and penetrated into the town (July 5;) but Liniers, at the head of the Spaniards, made so able a defence, that the English General signed a capitulation, by which he obtained the restitution of all British prisoners; and the English promised to evacuate Monte Video within the space of two months.

Charles IV. and his minister, during the war with Prussia, had shown a desire to shake off the yoke of Bonaparte. By signing at Fontainbleau the partition of Portugal, they opened a way for the French armies into Spain, who took possession of St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, Figueras, and Barcelona; and were even masters of Madrid while one part of the Spanish army were occupied in Portugal, and the other in Denmark. The consequences of these imprudences were, the overturning of Spain, and the dethronement of the House of Bourbon, as we have noticed above.

When the Spaniards rose in rebellion against the royal intruder, they formed themselves into Juntas, or directorial committees, in every province. That of Seville, which was composed of enterprising men, took the lead in the insurrection, declared war against Bonaparte in the name of Ferdinand VII., and concluded an armistice with England. Their authority was not acknowledged by the Provincial Juntas, each of which had set on foot an army of their own. All these armies engaged the French troops wherever they met them, and were very often vanquished. The insurrection did not come to a head till after the battle of Baylen (July 20, 1808,) where 14,000 French troops, under Generals Dupont and Vidal, laid down their arms. Castanos, to whom this success was owing, was then appointed Generalissimo; and the Junta organized a Regency, at the head of which they placed the old Cardinal de Bourbon. There were two other events which greatly encouraged the Spaniards; the one was the expulsion of Le Febvre from Saragossa by General Palafox, and the other the arrival of the Marquis de la Romana at Corunna with 7000 men, who had been conveyed to the island of Funen for invading Sweden, but had embarked, in spite of the French, to come to the assistance of their country

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Joseph Bonaparte having abandoned Madrid and retired to Burgos (Aug. 1,) a Central Junta was established at Aranjuez. This Junta raised three armies: that of the North, under Blake and Romana; that of the Centre, under Castanos; and that of Arragon, under Palafox. Immediately after the interview at Erfurt, Bonaparte placed himself at the head of his army, which had been increased to 180,000 men; and after gaining several advantages over the enemy, he sent back his brother Joseph to Madrid. Meantime, two divisions of the English army having arrived, the one from Lisbon, and the other from Corunna, they formed a junction in the province of Leon, under the command of Sir John Moore. Bonaparte marched against them, but they thought it prudent to retire. Having arrived at Astorga, he received intelligence of the preparations of the Austrians, when he set out for Paris, leaving the command of the army to Soult, who obliged the English to embark at Corunna, after a severe engagement in which Sir John Moore lost his life. A treaty of peace and alliance was signed at London between England and the Supreme Junta, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. (Jan. 14, 1809.) England sent into Portugal a new army, under the command of Sir A. Wellesley. The second siege of Saragossa, which was undertaken first by Junot, and continued by Lannes, was one of the most extraordinary events in modern war. The garrison, commanded by Palafox, and the inhabitants of the place who were completely devoted to him, performed prodigies of valour. When the French took the city (Feb. 21,) it presented nothing but a mass of ruins. It was calculated that above 100,000 men perished in that siege.

Marshal Victor defeated Cuesta at Medellin (March 28,) and Suchet defeated General Blake at Belchite (June 16:) but Soult, who had penetrated into Portugal, was repulsed by Wellesley, who fought the bloody battle of Talavera with Marshals Jourdan and Victor, which turned to the disadvantage of the French. The misconduct of the army of Cuesta, which had been conjoined with that of Wellesley in this battle, determined the latter henceforth to carry on a defensive war with the English and Portuguese alone; and to leave to the Spaniards the care of occupying the French, by harassing their troops incessantly, destroying their convoys and magazines, and surprising their entrenchments. The battle of Ocana (Nov. 19,) which Cuesta fought with General Mortier and lost, was the last pitched battle which the Spaniards fought. From that time they confined themselves to a Guerilla warfare, by which they did infinite damage to the enemy.

In 1809, the Central Junta retired to Seville. Towards the

end of the year, they were replaced by an Executive Directory of nine members; and next year these were superseded in their turn by a Regency of five members, which was established at Cadiz. An assembly of the Cortes was summoned to meet there, the members of which were nominated, not by the clergy, the nobility, and the cities, which composed the legitimate States of Spain, but by the great body of the inhabitants. That assembly, who could do no more for the defence of their country, employed themselves in establishing a democratic constitution in Spain, destroying by degrees all the institutions of the monarchy.

Soult, who was commander-in-chief of the army of the South, conquered the whole of Andalusia in 1810, with the exception of Cadiz, which Victor had in vain attempted to besiege. The principal efforts of the French were then turned towards Portugal; and on this occasion Massena was ordered to undertake the reduction of that country, at the head of 70,000 men. Junot laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered after a vigorous defence (July 10.) Almeida was likewise obliged to capitulate a few weeks after (August 27.) These conquests were made, without any apparent wish on the part of the English commander, recently created Lord Wellington, to prevent them. He had then begun to carry into execution the plan of defensive warfare which he had conceived after the battle of Talavera. In the spring he was stationed on the Coa, and began to retreat after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo; nor did he stop till he had reached Torres Vedras. Four months were employed in effecting this slow retrograde march. Massena followed him every step, suffering from continual fatigue and daily skirmishes; and struggling against famine, as the English army had destroyed every thing that lay in their way. Towards the end of October, Lord Wellington took up an impregnable position, where for four months the French General found all his manœuvres unsuccessful. Lord Wellington took advantage of this interval to secure considerable reinforcements which arrived from Lisbon. He was thus prepared to fall upon his adversary, when the impossibility of subsisting longer in an exhausted country should at length compel him to retreat.

When giving a summary of the history of France, we spoke of the renewal of hostilities between Bonaparte and Great Britain in 1803, as well as of the part which the latter took in the Continental wars of 1805, 1807, and 1809. The efforts which she had made to support these expenses, added a frightful increase to her national debt; but the constantly increasing progress of her commerce furnished her with the means of meeting this enormous expenditure. In vain had Bonaparte expected to ruin

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the industry of England by the Continental system. In the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies which she conquered, she found new channels to supply the place of those which were shut against her on the Continent of Europe. The Empire of the sea still remained in the possession of the British; and, in 1807, they annihilated the marine of Denmark, the only kingdom which then retained any maritime power. But of this circumstance we shall speak hereafter.

The year 1806 is remarkable for the abolition of the slave trade in the English colonies. Since 1785, the Blacks had found zealous advocates in the British Parliament, amongst whom Fox, Wilberforce, and Pitt, were the most distinguished. But the British Government, too sagacious to enter precipitately into a measure which might endanger the fortune of the planters, and even the tranquillity of the colonies, wished first to consult experience on the subject, and to leave the proprietors time to prepare themselves for a different order of things. For twenty years they had refused to adopt the bill which Mr. Wilberforce regularly laid before the Parliament, to demand restrictive laws against the trade. It was not until Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville entered into the ministry, that this question occupied their serious deliberations. An Act of Parliament, ratified by the King (May 16, 1806,) forbade the exportation of slaves from the English colonies, and conveying them into foreign colonies. A Bill of the 6th February 1807, which was ratified by the King on the 17th March following, enacted, that the slave trade should actually cease from the date of May 1st ensuing; providing, however, that vessels already departed on the trade should be allowed to import slaves into the West Indies until the 1st January 1808.

Of all the countries which were brought under the yoke of Napoleon, the most unfortunate without dispute was Holland. Her commerce, the only resource of her numerous inhabitants, was annihilated by the Continental system; her finances were in such a state of disorder, that, in spite of all their economy, the annual deficit was regularly about twenty millions of florins: her inhabitants were harassed as much by the soldiers of Bonaparte as by his revenue officers; and as if nature, in concert with political oppression, had conspired her ruin, her soil was laid waste, and her industry destroyed by periodical inundations, fires, and other calamities. Such is the picture which that wretched country presented up to the moment when Bonaparte extinguished the feeble remains of independence which it enjoyed. After various alterations, that Republic obtained a constitution similar to that which had existed in France since 1804. M. Schimmelpennink was placed at the head of the go-

vernment (April 1805,) under the title of Grand Pensionary, and vested with such powers as the last Stadtholders had never exercised, even after the revolution of 1788. We have already observed how this power, together with the Royal title, were rendered hereditary in favour of Louis Bonaparte; and how the Dutch monarchy vanished at the fiat of Napoleon.

Switzerland, with the exception of some partial commotions which are scarcely worthy of remark, had remained tranquil under the system of government which Bonaparte had prescribed in the act of mediation (Feb. 19, 1803.) The Continental System, and the prohibition laid on the greater part of Swiss commodities in France, paralyzed their industry and their commerce; and caused many of the inhabitants to emigrate, who for the most part directed their course towards North America. A treaty which General Ney had signed at Friburg (Sept. 27,) regulated the connections between France and the Helvetic Confederation, in a manner more advantageous for that country than in the time of the Directory. Bonaparte was satisfied with a defensive alliance; but the Swiss agreed to import from the mines of France their stock of salt, which they had till then been in the habit of receiving partly from Bavaria. This stock amounted to two hundred thousand quintals per annum; and the revenue which France derived from furnishing this article, was sufficient to support more than 20,000 troops. At the same time a military capitulation was signed, by which Bonaparte took into his service sixteen thousand Swiss volunteers. It must appear astonishing, that in this nation of warriors, a sufficient number could not be found to make up the complement of 16,000 men. The incomplete state of the Swiss regiments was a subject of perpetual complaint with Bonaparte.

The number of the Italian States had been perpetually diminishing; and about the time of which we now speak, that peninsula was entirely subjected to the influence of Bonaparte, and divided nominally between France, Naples, and the kingdom of Italy; excepting the small Republic of St. Marino, which preserved its independence in the midst of the general convulsion. The Italian Republic, which since the year 1805 had borne the title of the kingdom of Italy, was oppressed by the enormous load of contributions which were exacted for the support of the French troops, as well as by payments for the civil list of the King and his viceroy. That country submitted with great impatience to the law of the military conscription, which was contrary to the feelings and customs of the inhabitants. It obtained considerable aggrandizements after the peace of Presburg by the union of the Venetian provinces in 1807, and by that of the

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four provinces of the Ecclesiastical States ; but these accessions made no addition to its happiness. Eugene Beauharnais, dignified with the title of Prince of Venice, was proclaimed heir to the throne of Italy, failing the male descendants of Bonaparte.

The kingdom of Naples was overthrown about the beginning of 1806. Ferdinand IV., had retired to Sicily, and Joseph Bonaparte was put in his place, but he had occupied that unstable throne only two years, when he exchanged it for another still more insecure. But before surrendering the kingdom of Naples to Joachim Murat who was appointed his successor (June 28, 1808,) he wished to immortalize his name by giving a new constitution to that kingdom, which was guaranteed by Bonaparte. The attempts which Murat made to conquer Sicily proved abortive.

Germany had experienced two complete revolutions in course of the nine years of which we have given a short summary. The constitution of the Germanic Empire was changed in several essential respects by the Resolutions of the Deputation of Ratisbon. Of all the ecclesiastical princes that belonged to the Germanic body, one only was retained, viz. the Elector, Arch-Chancellor, who took the place of the ancient Elector of Mayence ; the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, was secularized. The territories of the rest, as well as the revenues of all ecclesiastical endowments, mediate or immediate, were employed either to indemnify the hereditary princes who had lost the whole or a part of their estates on the left bank of the Rhine, or to aggrandize those whom the policy of Bonaparte chose to favour. In place of the two Ecclesiastical Electors who were suppressed, four lay Electors were appointed, one of whom only was a Catholic, that of Salzburg, who had formerly been the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and three were Protestants, those of Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Cassel.

The House of Orange obtained the bishopric of Fulda and other territories ; Brisgau and Ortenau were ceded to the Duke of Modena, who left them at his death to his son-in-law the Archduke Ferdinand. The relation between the two religions was still more unequal in the College of Princes, where the Protestants had acquired so great a superiority that the head of the Empire refused to ratify that article of the Resolutions. The free cities were reduced to six, viz. Augsburg, Lubec, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg. The immediate nobility were retained ; but those of them who were entitled to indemnity were disappointed, as nothing remained to be distributed. In place of the existing duties payable on the Rhine, a rate of navigation was established, the proceeds of which

were to be divided between France and Germany ; a part of the endowment of the Arch-Chancellor was founded on that revenue.

The execution of the Resolutions of the Deputation, gave rise to several conventions among the States of the Empire, as well as to a great variety of claims. So many difficulties had arisen on this occasion, especially from the refusal of the Emperor to sanction the Resolution, without certain modifications, that the Empire was abolished before this new fundamental law could be carried into practice in all its bearings. The peace of Presburg had created two new Kings in the centre of Germany, namely, the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, who had assumed that dignity. These two princes, with the Elector of Baden, were declared sovereigns, and obtained territorial additions at the expense of Austria, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the city of Augsbourg. The King of Bavaria annexed that free city to his Estates. The Elector of Saltzburg exchanged all that the Resolutions of the Imperial Deputation had given him for the principality of Wurtzburg which was taken from the King of Bavaria, to which the Electoral title was transferred. The Grand Mastership of the Teutonic Knights was secularized in favour of a prince of the House of Austria. The heir of the Duke of Modena lost Brisgau, and Ortenau, which fell to the Elector of Baden.

The annihilation of the German Empire, the germ of which is to be found in that treaty, was effected by the Confederation of the Rhine, which the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Arch-Chancellor, the Elector of Baden, the Dukes of Cleves and Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Princes of Hohenzollern, Salm, Isenburg, Lichtenstein and Aremberg, and Count Leyen, concluded with Bonaparte (July 6, 1806,) who was named *Protector of the League*, as they announced in their declarations to the Diet. The act by which the Emperor Francis II. abdicated the crown of Germany (Aug. 6,) completed the dissolution of the Germanic body. The princes who had joined that confederation usurped the *sovereignty*, instead of the mere *superiority* which they had formerly enjoyed under the authority of the Empire. By overthrowing the barriers which the laws and institutions of the country, the most ancient customs, and conventions, had opposed to the encroachments of absolute power, they set a fatal example of trampling under foot the well acquired rights of their people. They carried their injustice still farther. They usurped dominion over the princes, provinces, and cities, their associates and coequals, who were unfortunately placed in their neighbourhood ; and who had not been apprized in time that they might repair to Paris, in order

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to co-operate in that transaction, or counteract the intrigues by which it was accomplished.

The Elector Arch-Chancellor then assumed the dignity of Prince Primate; the Elector of Baden, the Dukes of Berg and Cleves, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt took the title of Grand Dukes; to which the act of the 12th July attached the prerogatives of the royal dignity. The head of the house of Nassau took the dignity of Duke, and Count Leyen that of Prince. A federal Diet, divided into two chambers, was to deliberate on the general interests of the union; but that assembly never met. Of the six free cities which the Deputation had preserved, the King of Bavaria had Augsburg adjudged to him by the peace of Presburg; he afterwards obtained Nuremberg by an act of the Confederation. Frankfort fell to the share of the Prince Primate; so that there remained only three of the Hanseatic towns.

Several other princes entered successively into the Confederation of the Rhine; but none of these accessions were voluntary. They all took place in consequence of the war with Prussia, which broke out in October 1806. These princes, taken according to the order of accession, were the following:—The Elector of Wurtzburg, the old Elector of Salzburg, who took the grand ducal title, the King of Saxony, the Dukes of Saxony, the Houses of Anhalt and Schwartzburg, the Prince of Waldeck, the Houses of Lippe and Reuss, the King of Westphalia, the House of Mecklenburg, and the Duke of Oldenburg. Thus all Germany, with a few exceptions, entered in succession into that Confederation.

Several other changes occurred in the Rhenish Confederation, especially after the peace of Schoenbrunn. The grand duchy of Berg received considerable accessions. The kingdom of Westphalia was augmented in 1810, by the union of the States of the King of England in Germany, with the exception of the duchy of Lunenburg, as has been already mentioned. Within a short time after he had disposed of the territory of Hanover, Bonaparte formed the grand duchy of Frankfort, by adding the district of Fulda, and the greater part of the county of Hanau, to the possessions of the Prince Primate; with the deduction of the principality of Ratisbon, on condition that after the death of the Prince Primate, who had assumed the title of the Grand Duke of Frankfort, these territories should pass to Eugene Beauharnais and his male descendants; and failing these, they should revert to the Crown of France. The Grand Duke ceded to Napoleon the principality of Ratisbon, and his moiety of the navigation-dues on the Rhine.

The **F**actor of Bavaria had lost by the peace of Luneville that part of the Palatinate situated on the left bank of the Rhine, with the dutchy of Deux-ponts. The Deputation of 1803 deprived him of the rest of the Palatinate; but that act amply compensated him, by making over to him the bishoprics of Bamberg, Wurtzburg, Freisingen, Passau, and Augsburg, with several abbeys and free cities. By the peace of Presburg, Bonaparte took Wurtzburg from him; but he gave him in lieu of it a considerable part of the spoils of Austria, especially the county of Tyrol, which contained more than 700,000 inhabitants. To recompense that monarch for the zeal which he had displayed 1809, Bonaparte put him in possession of the principalities of Baireuth and Ratisbon, the dutchy of Salzburg, with Berchtolsgaden, and the part of Lower Austria which the Emperor had renounced by the peace of Schœnbrunn. In return, the King of Bavaria ceded back a part of the Tyrol, containing about 305,000 souls, which was annexed either to the kingdom of Italy or the Illyrian provinces.

By the peace of Luneville, the Austrian monarchy had lost, in point of extent and population; but she had gained an addition of six millions of francs to her revenue. The government had to struggle incessantly against the ruinous state of the exchequer, and the over-circulation of paper money. Neither loans nor economy could recover them. The embarrassed state of his finances was still more increased by the disastrous war of 1805. The peace of Presburg cost the Emperor the States that formerly belonged to the Venetians, the Tyrol, and all the possessions of his House in Swabia. He acquired nothing by that treaty, except the dutchy of Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden. His losses amounted to more than a thousand German square miles of territory, and nearly three millions of subjects. The following year (Aug. 6, 1806,) he voluntarily laid aside the Imperial crown of Germany, adopting instead, the hereditary Imperial crown of Austria, with the name of Francis I. Besides Saltsburg and Berchtolsgaden, the ci-devant Grand Duke of Tuscany lost also Passau and Eichstett; but he obtained the principality of Wurtzburg. The Archduke Ferdinand was deprived of Brisgau and Ortenau.

At the commencement of the year 1807, Austria had made warlike preparations which indicated that, but for the precipitancy with which the peace of Tilsit had been concluded, she would have made a powerful diversion on the rear of the French army. It was not till the convention of Fontainebleau that she obtained the restitution of Braunau, which had remained in the possession of the French, and which she purchased by new ter-

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ritorial losses on the side of Italy ; from that moment the Archduke Charles made great exertions for re-organizing the army, introducing a new order and a better discipline, forming bodies of militia, and repairing fortresses. He continued to inspire the nation with an enthusiasm which it had never before displayed. Many wealthy individuals made large pecuniary sacrifices for the service of their country.

The peace of Schœnbrunn, which terminated the war of 1809, brought Austria down to the rank of the third Continental power. That monarchy comprehended a surface of 9471 German square miles, and a population of twenty-one millions ; but her commerce was annihilated by the loss of Trieste and Fiume, which separated her from the sea. The immense quantity of paper money in the ceded provinces, flowed back into the interior of the kingdom, and reduced the currency of these bills to one-fifth of their nominal value.

Prussia, by the Resolutions of the Deputation of 1803, gained 426,000 subjects, and more than four millions of francs to her revenue ; and the provinces which she acquired, established, to a certain extent, the continuity of her Westphalian possessions with the centre of the kingdom. A convention with the Elector of Bavaria respecting an exchange of territory, made considerable additions to the Principalities in Franconia. The King, from that time, occupied himself in applying the remedy of a wise administration to repair the calamities which wars and levies had inflicted on the country. In vain had they tried every means of persuasion to make him join the third coalition ; and it was only the violation of his territory by the French troops, that at last prevailed with him to take that step. We have already spoken of the convention at Potsdam, by which he engaged eventually to become a party to that confederacy, and of the attempt which he made to restore peace by means of negotiation. We have already mentioned how he became involuntarily, and by the turn which his minister gave to the affair with which he was intrusted, the ally of him whom he wished to engage in war. Prussia obtained, by the treaty of Vienna, the precarious possession of the Electorate of Hanover, in lieu of which she ceded Anspach, Cleves, and Neufchatel. The superficial extent of the whole monarchy amounted then to 5746 German square miles, with a population of 10,658,000 souls.

The occupation of Hanover dragged Prussia into a war with England ; and the course pursued towards her by Bonaparte soon compelled her to declare war against France. He had offered the Electorate of Hanover to the King of England, and opposed Prussia in the project of associating Saxony, Hesse,

and the Hanseatic towns, in the confederation which Frederic wished to oppose to that of the Rhine. The convention of Vienna thus became the occasion of inflicting new calamities on Prussia. Frederic William renounced the territory of Hanover, by the peace which he concluded with George III. at Memel (Jan. 28, 1807;) but the treaty of Tilsit cost the former the half of his German estates, viz. an extent of 2657 German square miles, and a population of 4,670,000 souls. This sacrifice was not sufficient to appease the resentment of Bonaparte. By misinterpreting the equivocal terms of the convention of Koningsberg, he restored to the King only a part of his provinces on the east of the Vistula, which were desolated by the war, and reduced almost to a desert. After sixteen months of peace, he could not obtain repossession of his other provinces, until he engaged to pay 120,000,000 of francs, to leave three fortresses in the hands of Bonaparte by way of pledge, and to promise never to keep more than 40,000 men in the field.

Prussia was in a state of the greatest destitution, at the time when Frederic William turned his attention to the administration of the country. The army had devoured the substance of the inhabitants; the population had suffered a great diminution; while sickness and a complication of miseries, were continually cutting them off in considerable numbers. The King submitted to many privations, to fulfil the obligations he had contracted towards France, and thereby to obtain the final evacuation of the kingdom, as well as to relieve those provinces which had suffered more severely than others by the sojourn of the French army. He did every thing in his power to revive agriculture and industry among his subjects, and restore the resources of the army; and thus prepare the way for recovering the rank which the Prussian monarchy had formerly held.

Independently of the hardships which Bonaparte inflicted on Prussia, by protracting the stay of his army, and by the contributions which he imposed on her, this country was made the victim of a rapacity which is, perhaps, unprecedented in history. By a convention which the King of Saxony, as Duke of Warsaw, concluded with Bonaparte (May 10, 1808,) while occupied at Bayonne in overturning the Spanish monarchy, the latter ceded to him, for a sum of twenty millions of francs, not only the pecuniary claims of the King of Prussia over his Polish subjects, (for these he had abandoned by the peace of Tilsit,) but also those of certain public establishments in Prussia, such as the Bank, the Society for Maritime Commerce, the Endowment for Widows, Hospitals, Pious Foundations, Universities and Schools; and what may seem incredible, those of private

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individuals in Prussia over Polish subjects. The pecuniary claims were so much the more considerable, as the capitalists of the ancient provinces, since the introduction of the system of mortgage into Prussia, had advanced large sums to Polish proprietors for the improvement of their patrimonies. The sums thus taken from those who had furnished them, and transferred to the King of Saxony, were estimated at first at forty-three millions and a half of francs, and four millions of interest; but the financial authorities of the duchy of Warsaw, discovered that they amounted to sixty-eight millions. In vain did Frederick William offer to repurchase this pretended right of the King of Saxony, by reimbursing the twenty millions of francs which the latter had been obliged, it was said, to give to Bonaparte. The Revolution of 1814 rectified this piece of injustice, as it did many others.

During this period the north of Europe was agitated by three different wars, that of England against Denmark, which occasioned a rupture between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and London; that of Russia against Sweden, in which Denmark was involved; and lastly, the war between Russia and the Porte, in which England took an active part.

The expedition of the English against the Isle of Zealand in 1807, was an event which was censured at the time with great severity; and which cannot be justified, since it is the nature of all preventive war to destroy the very arguments and evidences of its necessity. Nevertheless, if on the one hand, we consider what was requisite to support the interests of Bonaparte after the peace of Tilsit, or more properly speaking, to carry into execution the system he had organized; and if on the other, we examine into his conduct a short time after, towards Spain and Portugal, we shall find England not wholly without excuse. The peace of Tilsit had excluded British commerce from all the southern ports of the Baltic, and she naturally wished that Sweden, and especially Denmark, who had a communication with the Continent by way of Jutland, should open their ports to her. Several appearances indicated that it was the intention of Bonaparte to seize Denmark also after the peace of Tilsit; and the British minister declared that he was in possession of proofs of a plan to that effect.

The British Government accordingly fitted out an expedition for the purpose of preventing his designs, with an activity and a celerity such as they had never displayed in sending aid to their allies; and that difference in their conduct tended not a little to create an unfavourable opinion as to the enterprise which they undertook against Denmark in 1807. An English

fleet, having an army on board, to which a Hanoverian legion of 7000 men then in the Isle of Rugen, was afterwards added, sailed from England about the end of July or beginning of August. It was divided into two squadrons, one of which, under Commodore Keats, took up their station in the Great Belt, which till then had been thought inaccessible to ships of war, and thus cut off the Isle of Zealand from the main land, where the Prince Royal with the Danish army then was. The second division, under the command of Admiral Gambier, with troops on board commanded by Lord Cathcart, arrived off Copenhagen. Mr. Jackson was sent to Kiel to demand from the Prince Royal the surrender of the Danish fleet, which they alleged it was the intention of Bonaparte to seize.

After a fruitless negotiation, Copenhagen, after being invested by the army of Lord Cathcart on the land side, was bombarded for three days (Sept. 2, 3, 4,) and a great part of the city destroyed. At length General Peymann, the Commander-in-chief of the Danish forces, demanded an armistice to treat for a capitulation. Sir Arthur Wellesley, the same officer who soon after so distinguished himself in Portugal, signed that capitulation on the part of Great Britain. The citadel was given up to the English. The Danes surrendered their fleet, with all the naval stores in their arsenals and dock-yards. The English stipulated for a delay of six weeks to prepare for departure, after which they promised to surrender the citadel, and evacuate the Isle of Zealand.

In this manner the Danish marine, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five sloops of war, fell into the hands of the English. During the six weeks stipulated for, the Court of London offered Denmark the alternative either of returning to a state of neutrality, or of forming an alliance with England. The Prince Regent having refused both of these, England declared war against him (Nov. 4;) but she did not violate the capitulation of Copenhagen, as the evacuation of that city and the island of Zealand took place at the term specified. This event added Denmark to the French system. Her minister concluded a treaty of alliance at Fontainebleau, the tenor of which has not been made public; but if we may judge by the events which followed, it was agreed that the Danish islands should be occupied by French troops destined to act against Sweden. In the month of March 1808, 32,000 French, Dutch, and Spanish troops (the last brought from the kingdom of Etruria,) under the command of Marshal Bernadotte, arrived in Zealand, Funen, and the other islands of the Baltic; but the defection of the Spanish troops, and the

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war with Austria, prevented the projected invasion of Sweden. The English took possession of the colonies of Denmark, and ruined the commerce of her subjects. Frederic VI., who had succeeded his father Christian VII., (March 13, 1808,) after having been at the head of the government as regent since 1784, strictly executed the Continental system; especially after the commencement of the year 1810, when the two Counts Bernstorff had retired from the ministry. He even went so far as to arrest all the English subjects found in Denmark.

The expedition of the English against Copenhagen, induced the Emperor Alexander to declare war against them (Nov. 7.) That monarch entered decidedly into the Continental system, and demanded of the King of Sweden, that agreeably to the conventions as to the armed neutrality of the North, he should enforce the principle by which the Baltic was declared a shut sea. The King of Sweden replied, that the principles established by the conventions of 1780 and 1800 had been abandoned by that of June 17, 1801; that circumstances were entirely changed since Denmark, on whose co-operations he had formerly reckoned, had lost her fleet; and since, independently of the Sound, the English had effected another entrance into the Baltic, through the Great Belt; these objections, however, did not prevent him from incurring a ruinous war.

A Russian army entered Finland (Feb. 21, 1808.) General Buxhowden, who had the command, announced to the inhabitants of that province that the Emperor Alexander had thought it necessary to occupy that country, in order to have a pledge that the King of Sweden would accept the proposals of peace which France had made to him. Although the Swedish troops in Finland were but few in number, and defended it bravely, they were compelled to yield to the superior force of the Russians, and to retire into East Bothnia. Sueaborg, the bulwark of Finland, and deemed impregnable, surrendered (April 6,) after a siege of a few days by Vice-Admiral Kronstadt. A manifesto of the Emperor Alexander (March 28,) had already declared the grand duchy of Finland to be incorporated with his Empire. This unexpected attack excited the most lively indignation in Gustavus IV., who so far forgot himself, as to cause M. d'Alopeus, the Russian minister at his court, to be arrested. Denmark having also declared war against him (Feb. 29,) a Swedish army of 20,000 men, under the command of Gen. Armfield, undertook the conquest of Norway. But this expedition was repulsed with loss; and the Danes even made incursions into Sweden.

Field-Marshal Count Klinspor being placed at the head of the Swedish army, then at Uleaburg began to act on the offensive

in the north of Finland ; while a second army, under the command of General Vegeſack, diſembarked at Abo (June 8.) The war was carried on with variable ſucceſs, but with equal bravery on both ſides. At the end of the campaign, the Ruſſians were again maſters of Finland. A body of 10,000 Engliſh troops, commanded by the ſame General Moore who, a few months after, fell at Corunna in Spain, had arrived in the roads at Gottenburg (May 17 ;) but as the Swediſh King could not come to an agreement as to the employment of theſe auxiliaries, nor even as to the command, he reſuſed to permit the troops to diſembark. He even ordered General Moore, who had repaired to Stockholm, to be arreſted. But having ſoon found means to eſcape, Moore returned to England with his troops. Mr. Thornton, the Britiſh envoy, who had remonſtrated againſt this arbitrary conduct of the King, was recalled.

Admiral Chanikoff, with a Ruſſian fleet of twenty-four ſhips of war, made an attempt to burn the Swediſh fleet, commanded by Admiral Nauckhoff, in Virgin Bay (Aug. 18 ;) but the arrival of an Engliſh fleet under Sir James Saumarez in Baltic Port where Nauckhoff was, with a reinforcement of ſome Engliſh ſhips under the command of Admiral Hood, kept them in blockade for nearly two months. In Finland an armiſtice had been concluded, (Sept. 1808,) on the footing of the *Uti Poſſidetis* ; but the Emperor Alexander reſuſed to ratify it. Another was then concluded at Olkioki (Nov. 19,) by which the Swediſh army engaged to evacuate Uleaburg, and to retire behind the Kemi. Towards the end of the year, the Engliſh Cabinet adviſed the King of Sweden to make peace, which he obſtinately reſuſed, and even demanded additional ſupplies to continue the war with vigour. The Britiſh Cabinet having declined to grant them unconditionally, Guſtavus was on the point of coming to an open rupture with that Court. But his indignation having abated, he agreed, ſoon after, to conclude a new convention at Stockholm (March 1, 1809,) when Great Britain engaged to pay in advance 300,000*l.* ſterling by quarterly inſtalments.

Meantime a revolution was fermenting in Sweden, which was to change the aſpect of affairs. The haughtineſs and obſtinacy of the King, had created him many enemies. The people were oppreſſed in a moſt extraordinary manner by burdens and im-poſts, which Guſtavus increaſed arbitrarily, and without regard to conſtitutional forms. The ſeverity with which he puniſhed the troops, not only when they had committed faults, but even when they were unſucceſſful, had alienated the minds of the ſoldiers from him, and eſpecially the guards. A conſpiracy was formed, at the head of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Adler-

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sparre, and Colonel Skioldebrand, and which was joined by the army of the West, or of Norway, and the troops that were stationed in the Islands of Aland. Adlersparre and the army of the West marched on Stockholm. They had arrived at Orebro, when Field-Marshal Klinckow, who had been disgraced, advised the King to avert the storm by changing his conduct. On his refusal, General Adlercreutz arrested him in the name of the people (March 13.) The Duke of Sudermania, the King's uncle, was proclaimed Regent. Gustavus was conveyed to Drottningholm, and thence to Gripsholm, where he signed a deed of abdication, which he afterwards declared on various occasions to have been voluntary. The revolution was terminated without commotion and without bloodshed.

The Regent immediately assembled the Diet at Stockholm. Not content with accepting the abdication of Gustavus, such as he had given it, they excluded all his descendants from the throne of Sweden. They offered the crown to the Regent, who declared his willingness to accept it when they had revised the constitution. This revision, by which the royal authority was limited without reducing it to a state of humiliation and dependence, having been adopted by the Diet, the Duke of Sudermania was proclaimed King (June 5, 1809,) under the title of Charles XIII. according to the common but erroneous method of reckoning the Kings of Sweden. As the new monarch had no family, they elected as his successor to the throne, Prince Christian Augustus of Holstein-Augustenburg, who commanded the Danish army in Norway, and who had procured the esteem even of his enemies. Gustavus and his family were permitted to leave the kingdom; and towards the end of the year a new fundamental law was published, regulating the order of succession to the throne.

At Stockholm the people flattered themselves that the dethronement of Gustavus would speedily bring peace to Sweden; but it was not so. Alexander I. refused to treat with a government so insecure as a regency, and hostilities accordingly continued. General Knorring who had passed the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice with 25,000 Russians, took possession of the Islands of Aland (March 17,) when the Swedish troops stationed there retired to the continent of Sweden. Knorring granted the Swedes a cessation of hostilities, to allow them time to make overtures of peace. Apprized of this arrangement, Count Barclay de Tolly, who had crossed the Gulf with another body of Russians on the side of Vasa, and taken possession of Umea, evacuated West Bothnia, and returned to Finland. A third body of Russians, under the command of Schouvaloff, penetrated

into West Bothnia by the route of Tornea, and compelled the Swedish army of the North, which was commanded by Gripenberg, to lay down their arms at Seiwis (March 25.) This sanguinary affair occurred entirely through ignorance; because in that country, lying under the 66th degree of north latitude, they were not aware of the armistice granted by Knorring. On the expiration of the truce, hostilities recommenced in the month of May, and the Russians took possession of the part of West Bothnia lying to the north of Umea.

The peace between Russia and Sweden was signed at Frederichsham (Sept. 17.) The latter power adhered to the Continental system, reserving to herself the importation of salt and such colonial produce as she could not do without. She surrendered Finland with the whole of East Bothnia, and a part of West Bothnia lying to the eastward of the river Tornea. The cession of these provinces which formed the granary of Sweden, and contained a population of 900,000 souls, was an irreparable loss to that kingdom, which had only 2,344,000 inhabitants left. The peace of Frederichsham was speedily followed by that of Jonkoping with Denmark (Dec. 10,) and that at Paris with France (Jan. 6, 1810.) By the first, every thing was re-established on its ancient footing between these two States. But by the peace of Paris, Sweden renounced the importation of colonial produce, and only reserved the privilege of importing salt as an article of absolute necessity. It was on this condition alone that she could obtain repossession of Pomerania.

The Prince Royal of Sweden having died suddenly, a Diet assembled at Orebro, and elected John Baptiste Julius Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, his successor to the throne (May 28.) The election was unanimous; but out of more than one thousand of the nobility who had a right to appear at the Diet, only one hundred and forty were present. Bernadotte accepted an offer so honourable. On his arrival at Elsinore, he professed, as his ancestors had done before him in France, his adherence to the Confession of Augsburg, which was then the established religion in Sweden. King Charles XIII. having adopted him as his son, he was proclaimed at Stockholm (Nov. 5,) eventual successor to the throne, under the name of Charles John. Twelve days afterwards, Sweden declared war against Great Britain.

In Russia, the Emperor Alexander, since his accession to the throne, had occupied himself incessantly in improving every branch of the administration. The restrictive regulations which had been published under the last reign were abrogated; by gradual concessions, the peasantry were prepared for a liberty

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which they had not yet enjoyed. The number of universities, and what is still more essential to civilization, the number of schools was augmented. The senate, the ministry, and the civil authorities were reorganized, and new improvements adopted, tending to abolish arbitrary power, to accelerate the despatch of business, and to promote the distribution of fair and impartial justice to all classes of society. Canals were dug, new avenues were opened for industry, and commerce flourished, especially the trade of the Black Sea. The only point in which the Government failed, was in its attempts to restore the finances; but the four wars of the preceding seven years in which Russia had been engaged, rendered these attempts unavailing.

We have already related the origin, events, and termination of two of these wars, viz. that of 1806, which ended with the peace of Tilsit, and procured Russia the province of Bialystock; and that of Sweden, which annexed the province of Finland to that Empire. The war against England continued after the peace of Fredericsham, but without furnishing any events of great importance. The two other wars were those against Persia and the Porte. At the beginning of his reign, Alexander had annexed Georgia to his Empire, which had till then been the prey of continual disturbances. This accession drew him into a war with Persia, which did not terminate till 1813. The principal events of that war were the defeat of the Persians at Etschmiazin, by Prince Zizianoff (June 20, 1804;) the conquest of the province of Shirvan by the same Prince (Jan. 1806;) the taking of Derbent by the Russians (July 3;) and the defeat of the Persians by Paulucci, at Alkolwalaki, (Sept. 1, 1810.)

Before speaking of the war between Russia and the Porte, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the Ottoman Empire. The condition of that Empire, badly organized and worse governed, was such, that every thing then presaged its approaching dissolution; or in other words, the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. Every where the authority of the Grand Seigneur was disregarded. Paswan Oglou, the Pacha of Widin, was in open revolt. Ali Pacha of Janina was obedient only when it suited his convenience. The Servians had taken up arms under their leader Czerni George, and threatened to possess themselves of Sabacz and Belgrade. Djezzar, the Pacha of Syria, without declaring himself an enemy to the Porte, enjoyed an absolute independence. The sect of the Wahabites was in possession of Arabia. Egypt was distracted by civil wars. Selim III., who had reigned there since 1789, convinced that the Porte could never re-establish its authority ex-

cept by better organizing the army, had endeavoured to model it on the European system. This attempt afterwards cost him his throne.

Such was the situation of the Ottoman Empire, when Bonaparte, in order to prevent Alexander from sending supplies to Prussia, resolved to embroil him in a quarrel with the Porte. General Sebastiani, the French Envoy at Constantinople, contrived to obtain so great an influence over the minds of the Divan, that for some time it was entirely under his direction. Subjects of dissension were not wanting between Russia and the Porte; and these were of such a nature, as to furnish each party with plausible reasons for complaining of the infraction of treaties. The French minister was not slow to fan the spark of discord. He even induced the Divan to refuse to renew their treaty of alliance with England, which was then on the point of expiring. The Emperor Alexander, foreseeing that there would be no redress to his complaints, gave orders to General Michelson to enter Moldavia and Wallachia. The Porte then declared war against Russia (Dec. 30;) but deviating for the first time from a barbarous custom, he allowed M. d'Italinski, the Russian minister, to depart unmolested.

A few days after, Mr. Arbuthnot, the English minister, quitted Constantinople, after having repeatedly demanded the renewal of the alliance, and the expulsion of M. Sebastiani. Within a few weeks an English fleet of nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire-ships, commanded by Vice-Admiral Duckworth, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and appeared before Constantinople. Duckworth demanded of the Divan, that the forts of the Dardanelles and the Turkish fleet should be surrendered to him; that the Porte should cede Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, and break off alliance with Bonaparte. But instead of profiting by the sudden panic which his appearance had created, he allowed the Turks time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Encouraged and instructed by Sebastiani, they made their preparations with such energy and success, that in the course of eight days the English Vice-admiral found that he could do nothing better than weigh anchor and repass the Dardanelles. On his arrival at Malta, he took on board 5000 troops, under the command of General Fraser, and conveyed them to Egypt. The English took possession of Alexandria (Mar. 20;) but in the course of six months, they found themselves obliged to surrender that city by capitulation to the Governor of Egypt.

The campaign of 1807 was not productive of any very decisive result, as General Michelson had received orders to detach

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80,000 men to oppose the French in Poland. Czerni George, the leader of the revolted Servians, took Belgrade, Sabacz, and Nissa, penetrated into Bulgaria, where he was reinforced by some Russian troops, and gained divers signal advantages. General Michelson himself was victorious near Guirdesov (March 17,) without, however, being able to get possession of that place. The war was conducted with more success on the frontiers of the two Empires in Asia. The Seraskier of Erzerum was entirely defeated by General Gudovitch (June 18;) and that victory was an event so much the more fortunate, as it prevented the Persians from making a bold diversion in favour of the Turks. The most important event in the campaign was the naval battle of Lemnos, where the Russian fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral Siniawin, defeated the Capitan Pacha, who had sailed from the Dardanelles after the retreat of Duckworth.

When the Ottoman navy sustained this defeat, Selim III. had ceased to reign. That prince had rendered himself odious to the troops, by the introduction of the European discipline and dress, known by the name of *Nizami gedid*, and by his connexion with the French Emperor. One circumstance, regarded as a fundamental law, and according to which a Sultan who had reigned seven years without having any children was regarded as unworthy of the throne, served as a pretext for the military to have him deposed. Selim, finding it impossible to quell or allay the revolt, abdicated voluntarily (May 29,) and placed his cousin, Mustapha IV., on the throne. In the amnesty which that prince published, he recognised the right of the Janissaries to withdraw their allegiance from the Grand Seigneur who should depart from the established customs, and that of appointing his successor.

The Emperor Alexander had promised, by the peace of Tilsit, to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, on condition, however, that the Turks should not occupy these two provinces till after the conclusion of a definitive peace. The French General Guilleminot was sent to the Turkish camp to negotiate an armistice on these terms, which in effect was signed at Slobozia (Aug. 24.) The evacuation of the two provinces stipulated by that arrangement never took place, as the Emperor of Russia refused to ratify the treaty, as it contained certain articles which he judged incompatible with his dignity; so that matters remained on their former footing. That circumstance was one of the pretexts which Bonaparte alleged for continuing to occupy Prussia.

In the midst of these political quibblings, the time arrived when a new system of things took place. The Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Paris were making mutual advances; and it is probable that the fate of the Porte, and especially of the pro-

vinces beyond the Danube, was one of the subjects which were discussed during the interview at Erfurt. France lost her influence at Constantinople, when they saw her enter into an alliance with Russia; and from that time England directed the politics of the Divan.

Mustapha IV. had in the mean time been hurled from the throne. Mustapha, styled *Bairactar* or the *Standardbearer*, the Pacha of Rudschuk, a man of extraordinary courage, and one of the most zealous abettors of the changes introduced by Selim, which he regarded as the sole means of preserving the State, had marched with 35,000 men to Constantinople, with the view of reforming or seizing the government, and announced to Mustapha IV. (July 28, 1808,) that he must resign, and make way for the ancient and legitimate Sultan. Mustapha thought to save his crown by putting Selim to death; but Bairactar proclaimed Mahmoud, the younger brother of Mustapha, who was then shut up in the Seraglio. Bairactar, invested with absolute power, re-established the corps of the *Seimens*, or disciplined troops on the footing of the Europeans, and took vigorous measures for putting the Empire in a condition to resist the Russians. These patriotic efforts cost him his life. After the departure of a part of the *Seimens* for the army, the Janissaries and the inhabitants of Constantinople revolted. At the head of a body of newly organized troops, Mustapha defended himself with courage; but seeing the moment approach when he must yield to the superior number of his assailants, he put to death the old Sultan and his mother, whose intrigues had instigated the insurrection. He retired to a fortress or strong place, where he had deposited a quantity of gunpowder. The Janissaries having pursued him thither, he set fire to the magazine, and blew himself and his persecutors into the air. The young Sultan Mahmoud had the courage to declare that he would retain the European discipline and dress; but after being attacked in his place, and learning that the city was filled with carnage and conflagration, he yielded to necessity, and restored the privileges of the Janissaries. It is probable they would not have spared his life, but for the circumstance that he was the last scion of the race of Osman.

The ministers of the Divan, whom General Sebastiani had gained over to the interests of France, finding themselves entirely discarded by the last revolution, Mr. Adair, the new English minister at Constantinople, concluded a treaty of peace (Jan. 5, 1809,) by which the Porte confirmed to England the commercial advantages which the treaty of 1675 had granted them, as well as the navigation of the Black Sea, which Mr. Spencer Smith had obtained (August 3, 1799.)

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Immediately after the return of the Emperor Alexander from Erfurt, an order was given to open negotiations with the Turks. The conference took place at Jassy; but it was immediately broken off, after the Russian plenipotentiaries had demanded, as preliminary conditions, the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the expulsion of the British minister from Constantinople. Hostilities then recommenced. The Russians were commanded by Prince Proseroffski, and after his death, by Prince Bagration. Having passed the Danube, they took possession of Ismael, and fought a bloody battle at Tartaritz, near Silistria (Sept. 26,) which compelled them to raise the siege of that place. The Grand Vizier, without taking advantage of his good fortune, retired to winter-quarters.

The campaign of 1810 was more decisive. General Kamenskoi, the second of that name, had taken the chief command of the Russian army; his brother of the same name, and General Markoff, opened it by the taking of Bazardjik (June 4;) the capture of Silistria (June 11,) by the Commander-in-chief and Count Langeron, opened the way to Shumla, where the Grand Vizier, Yussuff Pacha, occupied a strong position; while General Sabanieff defeated a body of Turkish troops near Rasgard (June 14,) the remains of which were obliged to surrender. The Grand Vizier then demanded an armistice for negotiating a peace. The reply was, that it would be concluded immediately on his recognising the Danube as the limit of the two Empires, and promising to pay a sum of twenty millions of piastres; the Russians remaining in possession of Bessarabia until it was paid. The Grand Vizier, at the instigation of the British minister, rejected these conditions. Yussuff Pacha still occupied his camp near Shumla, the rear of which was protected by the Hemus. Kamenskoi the elder, attacked him in his entrenchments, but was repulsed with loss (June 23;) he left his brother at Kargali Dere (about five leagues from Shumla) at the head of a corps of observation, while he attempted himself to take Rudschuk by main force, but was again repulsed. The younger brother then found himself obliged, by the approach of a superior force, to abandon his position at Kargali Dere (Aug. 15.) Yussuff being determined to save Rudschuk, detached Mouhtar Pacha with a body of 40,000 troops, who took up a formidable position at the place where the Jantra runs into the Danube. Kamenskoi leaving to Count Langeron the care of the siege of Rudschuk, and ordering Sass to invest Guirdesov, which is situated on the other side of the Danube opposite Rudschuk, immediately directed his march against Mouhtar, and attacked him in his entrenchments at Batine. After a terrible carnage, the Russians took possession

of the Turkish camp by main force (Sept. 7,) when Mouhtar escaped with a small detachment. Within a few days after, Count St. Priest took Sezistov, with the whole Turkish fleet. Rudschuk and Guirdesov surrendered on the same day (Sept. 27,) and Nicopoli and Widdin in a short time after; so that by the end of the campaign the Russians were masters of the whole right bank of the Danube. The Grand Vizier had continued all this time in his strong camp at Shumla. The Servians, assisted by a body of Russians, had taken possession of the last fortresses in their country which the Turks had still maintained, such as Cladova, Oreava, and Praova.

CHAPTER XII.

PERIOD IX.

The decline and downfall of the Empire of Bonaparte.—A. D. 1810—1815.

THE power of Napoleon had now attained its greatest height. The birth of a son, an event, which happened March 20, 1811, might have given stability to this power, had he known how to set bounds to his ambition. The heir to the Imperial throne received the title of King of Rome, a dignity which had been decreed in anticipation.

The differences that had arisen between Bonaparte and the Head of the Church, became this year a subject of public discussion. The will of a despot whom no power could resist, was made to recoil more than once before the inflexible firmness of an old man, disarmed and in captivity. Ever since Bonaparte had deprived the Church of her patrimony, and had been laid under the ban of excommunication, Pius VII., faithful to his principles, had refused confirmation to every bishop nominated by a man who was excluded from the Catholic communion. Bonaparte thought it might be possible to dispense with the confirmation of the Pope. With this view, he assembled a national council at Paris (June 17, 1811,) composed of French and Italian bishops, and in which Cardinal Fesch, the Archbishop of Lyons, presided. He soon found, however, that despotic authority was of little avail against religious opinions. The prelates, on whose compliance he had calculated with too much confidence, declared that the Council had no power to grant that

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confirmation which was refused by the Pope; but the arrest of three of the most refractory prelates, who were imprisoned at Vincennes (July 12,) having given rise to a negotiation, the rest adopted a modified scheme which the government had communicated to them; on condition, however, that it should be submitted for the approbation of the Pope. But his Holiness, who had still remained at Savona, refused to treat with the Council, which he declared null and void, as having been convened without his authority. The project of Bonaparte thus completely failed; the Council was dismissed; and twenty of the Sees of France and Italy were left without bishops.

Before proceeding to detail the grand events which overturned the dominion of Bonaparte, it will be necessary to advert to what took place in Spain and Portugal in 1811 and 1812. Sickness, and the want of provisions, had at length compelled Massena to effect his retreat (March 1,) during which he sustained considerable loss by the pursuit of Lord Wellington. Thus, for the third time, was Portugal released from the invasion of the French army. It would be impossible, within the narrow limits to which we are here confined, to detail the various marches and counter-marches of the Generals, or the operations in which they were engaged. We can only point out the principal actions in a detached and cursory manner.

Marshal Soult retook Badajos (March 10,) while Lord Wellington still retained his position at Torres Vedras, which he had quitted with reluctance to go in pursuit of Massena. As the possession of that place was of importance for the English, Lord Wellington determined to besiege it; but Marshal Marmont who had replaced Massena in the command of the army of the North, and Marshal Soult who had formed a junction with him, obliged him to discontinue the siege. He retired to Portugal, where he remained on the defensive during the rest of the campaign. The advantages of the campaign of 1811 belonged to General Suchet. After a destructive siege, he took Tortosa by capitulation (Jan. 1,) and Tarragona by main force (June 28.) He made himself master of Monteserrat in the same manner. (Aug. 19.) By a signal victory which he gained over General Blake (Oct. 25,) at Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum, he prepared the way for the conquest of Valencia, which surrendered by capitulation (Jan. 9, 1812.)

At the commencement of 1812, the French forces in Spain amounted to 150,000 men. The allies consisted of 52,000 English troops, 24,000 Portuguese, and 100,000 Spaniards, including 20,000 guerillas. Lord Wellington reduced Ciudad Rodrigo (Jan. 19,) and then retired once more into Portugal, where he

kept on the defensive for nearly five months. He then attacked Salamanca, took that city (June 28,) and defeated Marmont in the famous battle of Areopiles, near Salamanca (July 21,) where Clausel saved the French army from a complete rout. Joseph Bonaparte quitted Madrid. Soult gave orders to raise the siege of Cadiz, which had continued for two years. He evacuated Andalusia, and joined King Joseph in Murcia. Wellington, now master of Burgos, was desirous to get possession also of the citadel of that place, the acquisition of which was necessary for his safety. But Souham, who had succeeded Marmont, and Soult having approached on both sides to save the town, the British General retired again into Portugal, and Joseph Bonaparte returned to Madrid (Nov. 1.)

At this time the North of Europe had been the theatre of great events. For some time, the friendship between the Courts of St. Petersburg and St. Cloud had been growing cool. The last usurpations of Bonaparte, during the course of 1810, brought about a complete rupture. The extension of the French Empire towards the Baltic, was becoming a subject of suspicion and anxiety to Alexander. The manner in which Bonaparte had taken possession of the duchy of Oldenburg, the patrimony of his family, was an outrage against his person. The first symptom of discontent which he exhibited, was by abandoning the Continental system, although indirectly, by an Ukase (Dec. 13, 1810,) which permitted the importation of colonial produce, while it interdicted that of France, wine only excepted. Under pretext of organizing a force for the maintenance of these regulations, he raised an army of 90,000 men. A rupture with Bonaparte appeared then unavoidable.

In Sweden also there arose new subjects of quarrel. Bonaparte complained, that in that country the Continental system had not been put in execution with sufficient rigour. He demanded, that Charles XIII. should put two thousand sailors into his pay; that he should introduce the Tariff of Trianon, and admit French revenue-officers at Gottenburg. In short, Sweden, Denmark, and the duchy of Warsaw, were to form a confederation, under the protection of France. During these discussions, Marshal Davoust, who commanded in the north of Germany, took possession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen (Jan. 27, 1812.) Bonaparte desired, however, to surrender that province to Sweden, and to compel Alexander to restore Finland to her, if Charles XIII. would agree to furnish 30,000 troops against Russia.

Sweden, on the contrary, was on terms of conciliation with that power. By an alliance, which was signed at St. Petersburg

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(April 5,) Alexander promised to procure her Norway. A body of between twenty-five and thirty thousand Swedes, and between fifteen and twenty thousand Russians, were then to make a diversion against France on the coasts of Germany. This arrangement was afterwards changed; in a conference which the Emperor had at Abo (Aug. 30,) the latter consented that the Russian troops, destined to act in Norway, should be transported to Riga for the defence of Russia; and that they should not, till a later period, undertake the conquest of Norway. Charles XIII. was also reconciled to England, while he had always pretended to be ignorant of the declaration of war of November 17, 1810. A treaty of peace was signed at Orebro (July 12,) where they agreed, though in general terms, on a defensive alliance.

Bonaparte, seeing the moment approach when a rupture with Russia would take place, hesitated for some time as to the part he should take with regard to Prussia, in the very centre of which he still possessed three fortresses. He determined at last to preserve that State, and to make an ally of it, on which the principal burden of the war should fall. Four conventions were concluded at Paris, on the same day (Feb. 24,) between these two powers. By the principal treaty, an alliance purely defensive was established; but according to certain secret articles, that alliance was declared offensive; on such terms, however, that Prussia was not to furnish any contingent beyond the Pyrenees in Italy, or against the Turks. By the first convention, which was likewise to be kept secret, the alliance was expressly directed against Russia; and the King of Prussia promised to furnish a body of 20,000 auxiliary troops. Glogau, Stettin, and Custrin, were to be still occupied by the French. The two other conventions related to the sums still due by Prussia, and the supplies which she had to furnish.

A few days after, there was also signed at Paris a defensive alliance against Russia, between Austria and France. The reciprocal supplies to be furnished by each, was 30,000 men; and the Court of Vienna was given to hope, that she might again be restored to the possession of the Illyrian Provinces. From that moment, Bonaparte began to make the most active preparations. By a decree of the Senate, the whole male population of France, between the ages of twenty and sixty years, was divided into three *Bans*, or bodies summoned by proclamation; the first of these contained 100,000 men, to be placed at the disposal of the government. The princes of the confederation were to furnish their contingent as follows:—Bavaria 30,000 troops, Westphalia and Saxony each 20,000, Wurtemberg 14,000, and the kingdom of Italy 40,000. Negotiations were at that time in progress between

Bonaparte and Alexander, apparently with a view of adjusting their mutual complaints. But matters had recently taken a turn, which left little reason to hope that they would come to any satisfactory result. These conferences were continued at Dresden where Bonaparte had gone, and where he met the Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Prussia, and a great number of the princes of the Rhenish Confederation. This was the last moment of Bonaparte's greatness. He waited the return of Count Narbonne, whom he had sent to Wilna with his last proposals to the Emperor Alexander. Immediately after the arrival of the Count, war was declared (June 12, 1812.)

The army of Bonaparte amounted to 587,000 men, of which 73,000 were cavalry. It was separated into three grand divisions; the main army was composed of the divisions of Davoust, Oudinot, and Ney. It contained also the troops of Wurtemberg, at the head of whom was the Prince Royal. The second army, commanded by Eugene Beauharnais, consisted of the divisions of Junot and St. Cyr; the Bavarians, under the command of Deroy and Wrede, made a part of it. The third army, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, consisted of the Poles, under Prince Poniatowski, the Saxons, under Regnier, and the Westphalians under Vandamme. The Austrian auxiliaries, at the head of whom was Prince Schwartzemberg, formed the extreme right wing. The corps of Marshal Macdonald and the Prussians, were placed on the extreme left. To oppose this immense mass, Alexander had only 260,000 men, divided into two armies, which were called the first and second armies of the West. The former, under the command of Count Barclay de Tolly, extended as far as Grodno, and communicated on the north side with Count d'Essen, Governor of Riga; and on the south, with the second army of the West, at the head of which was Prince Bagration. But independently of these forces, there were bodies of reserve, and armies of observation, formed with all expedition, and ultimately joined with the main armies.

Of the great number of battles fought during this memorable campaign, we must content ourselves with selecting the more important; without entering into a detail of the various movements of either party. The inferiority of numbers which Alexander had to oppose to Bonaparte, seemed to render a defensive plan advisable, according to which, by destroying all the means of subsistence in the districts which they abandoned, they might allure the enemy into countries desolated and destitute of every resource. Bonaparte allowed himself to be duped by feint retreats; his scheme was to place himself between the two Russian armies, and after having destroyed both, to penetrate into

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the interior of the Empire, where he reckoned on finding immense riches, and to dictate the terms of peace, as he had twice done at Vienna.

The passage of the Niemen, by the French army, was the commencement of hostilities (June 22;) the Russians immediately began their system of retreat. Bonaparte, at first, succeeded in penetrating between the two armies; but after several battles fought by Prince Bagration, more especially that at Mohiloff (July 23,) the two armies effected a junction at Smolensko. Jerome Bonaparte and Vandamme, to whom Bonaparte attributed that check, were ordered to quit the French army, while he himself advanced as far as Witepsk.

Bonaparte engaged Barclay de Tolly, and fought a bloody battle with him at Smolensko (Aug. 17.) He took possession of that city by force, after it had been set on fire by the inhabitants. He found no provisions in it, and scarcely a shelter to cover his sick and wounded. On the news of the progress which the French were making, a general enthusiasm seized the Russian nation. Alexander had encouraged and excited this patriotic spirit by repairing to Moscow. The nobles armed their peasantry, and prepared to fight with desperation to the last. The two armies of the West were combined into one, of which Prince Kutusoff took the command. He engaged Bonaparte, and fought the famous battle of Moskwa, about twenty-five leagues from Moscow (Sept. 7.) Although 65,000 men, including Russians, French, and allies, were left dead on the field of battle, that action was by no means decisive; but Kutusoff, whose army was reduced to 70,000 men, while Bonaparte, out of 150,000, had still 120,000 left, resolved to continue his retreat, and to leave Moscow at the mercy of the enemy. The French entered that place seven days after the battle (Sept. 14.) They found that ancient capital entirely abandoned, but still containing immense wealth which the inhabitants had not been able to carry with them. Within two days, a conflagration which broke out in five hundred places at once, reduced that immense city to a heap of ashes. The precautions of the incendiaries had been so well taken, that all the efforts of the French to arrest the progress of the flames proved ineffectual; and out of 9158 houses, they could only save 2041. Thus perished irrevocably the means of subsistence, which had for a moment revived the courage of the invaders.

In a short time famine began to make its appearance in the army of Bonaparte. Dissembling the real state of his affairs, he twice offered peace. Alexander refused to treat at a time when the war was only on the eve of commencing; and told

the Russian generals, that he was still resolved to continue his retreat, which commenced accordingly on the 15th October. Marshal Mortier, who commanded the rear-guard, had orders to set fire to the Kremlin, the palace of the ancient Czars of Russia. Bonaparte directed his march towards Smolensko, through a country reduced to an entire desert. He was incessantly harassed by the Russians, whose troops, marching at a convenient distance, attacked both his flanks. On arriving at Smolensko (Nov. 9,) after having lost 40,000 men, the army was assailed by the rigours of winter, which added to their other misfortunes. Kutusoff having advanced before them, and taking post at Krasnoi, they were obliged to force a passage with the loss of 13,000 men, and 70 pieces of cannon. Two days after, 11,000 men of Ney's division, laid down their arms; 35,000 men, and twenty-five cannons without horses, were all that remained to the conqueror of Moscow.

This exhausted and dispirited army had 50 leagues to march, before they could reach the Beresina, where other dangers awaited them. The passage of that river was occupied by the army of Tchichagoff, amounting to 50,000 men, who had arrived from Moldavia. Another Russian army, under Count Witgenstein, was marching from the north to join the former; but Marshal Victor's body of reserve, which had arrived from Prussia, intercepted them for a while, without having been able to prevent their final junction. Victor, Oudinot, and Dombrowski, brought a reinforcement to Bonaparte of 35,000 men, exhausted with cold and famine. The passage of the Beresina was forced with admirable bravery (Nov. 27-28;) but it cost France or the allies, the lives or the liberty of more than 30,000 men.

At this point, the main body of the Russians ceased to pursue the unfortunate wreck of Bonaparte's army; nevertheless, as far as Wilna, they were continually harassed by the Cossacs. There was besides a frightful deficiency of provisions and clothing, so that upwards of 25,000 men fell a sacrifice to these privations in their route to Wilna. This was the first city or town that fell in their way; all the others had been completely destroyed; the miserable remnant who reached that place (Dec. 9,) were at length supplied with provisions; but the Cossacs did not leave them long in the enjoyment of repose. On the following day they were obliged to commence their retreat to Kowno, from which they directed their march towards the Vistula. Independently of the corps of Macdonald, who had the Prussians under his command, and of the auxiliary body of Austrians and Saxons, none of which took any part in that route, only 18,800 French and Italians, and about 23,000 Poles and Germans, found their way back from Russia.

Bonaparte himself had taken his departure privately on the 5th December, leaving the command of the army to Murat. With such despatch had he consulted his safety, that on the 18th of the same month he arrived at Paris.

Prince Schwartzberg, being joined by General Reynier who commanded the Saxons, had fought several engagements with the army of Tchichagoff, none of which had proved decisive; and after the affair of the Beresina he had retired towards Warsaw and Pultusk. Several most sanguinary engagements, although not more decisive than the former, had taken place between Count Witgenstein and the left wing of the French army; especially towards the commencement of the campaign, when Marshals Oudinot and St. Cyr had joined Macdonald. On these occasions, the Prussians had rendered very important services; but the moment General Yorke, who commanded these auxiliaries, had been informed of the retreat of Bonaparte, he thought himself authorized, not from any political motives which he would never have avowed, but from the destitute condition in which he had been left, to conclude a capitulation with the Russians, by which he withdrew his whole forces from the French army (Dec. 29.)

That event was of little importance in itself, although it produced a very great sensation in Prussia, and served as a pretext for Bonaparte to demand new levies, without being obliged to acknowledge the whole extent of the losses he had sustained. One of his ministers, Regnault d'Angely, spoke of the event, in his official report, as the *Glorious Retreat of Moscow!* Moreover, a decree of the Senate, issued at the commencement of the following year (Jan. 11,) placed a new conscription of 350,000 men at the disposal of the government. In order to raise the necessary funds for this new armament, Bonaparte seized the revenues of all the communes in France; their properties were sold to promote his schemes; and he promised to make them ample reimbursements, by assigning to them annuities on the civil list.

Nothing annoyed Bonaparte so much as the incessant resistance and opposition of Pope Pius VII. In the hope of gaining a more easy victory, by bringing that respectable old man nearer his person, he had ordered him to be conveyed to the Palace of Fontainebleau, about the middle of the year 1812. After his return from Moscow, he repaired thither himself, and succeeded in extorting the Pope's consent to a new Concordat; on condition, however, that the stipulations should be kept secret, until they were examined by a Consistory of Cardinals. But Bonaparte took an early opportunity of publishing this new Concor-

dat, as a fundamental law of the State—a circumstance which induced Pius VII. to disavow it, and to declare it null and of none effect.

Meantime, a new and formidable league was preparing against Bonaparte. After the campaign of 1812, the King of Prussia had demanded, agreeably to the convention of February 24th, that Bonaparte should reimburse him for the ninety-three millions which he had advanced in furnishing supplies to the French army, beyond the sum which he owed as his contingent for the war. The refusal of Bonaparte to pay that debt, served as a pretext for Frederic William to shake off an alliance so contrary to the true interests of his kingdom. An appeal which he made to the nation excited a general enthusiasm; and as every thing had been for five years preparing in secret, in the twinkling of an eye the Prussian army, which had been reduced to 42,000 men, was raised to 128,000. This defection of Prussia furnished Bonaparte with a plea for demanding new levies. A decree of the Senate (April 3, 1813,) ordered him 180,000 additional troops.

The treaty which was signed at Kalisch and Breslau (Feb. 27, 28,) laid the foundation of an intimate alliance between Russia and the King of Prussia. Alexander promised to furnish 150,000 men, and Prussia 80,000, exclusive of the troops in garrisons and fortresses. Alexander moreover engaged never to lay down arms until Prussia should be restored to her statistical, financial, and geographical position, conformably to the state of that monarchy, such as it had been before the war of 1806. Within a few days after, these two monarchs had an interview at Breslau, where a more intimate friendship was contracted, which subsisted between them for a long time.

Prince Kutusoff issued a proclamation, dated from Kalisch (March 23, 1813,) which announced to the Germans that the Confederation of the Rhine must henceforth be regarded as dissolved. The House of Mecklenburg, without waiting for that annunciation, had already set the first example of abandoning that league. The allies had flattered themselves that the King of Saxony would make common cause with them; but that monarch declared that he would remain faithful to his system. This perseverance of a respectable Prince whose country abounded with resources, did much injury to the common cause. At a later date, it cost the King of Saxony the half of his estates, without taking into account the dutchy of Warsaw, which could never be regarded but as a precarious possession.

The King of Sweden had engaged with Alexander to make a diversion on the rear of Bonaparte; on condition that he would

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secure him the possession of Norway, or at least the province of that kingdom called the Bishopric of Drontheim. Great Britain was desirous that that arrangement should be made with the consent of the King of Denmark, who was offered a compensation on the side of Holstein, as well as the whole of Swedish Pomerania. Frederic VI. having given an absolute refusal, a treaty between Great Britain and Sweden was concluded at Stockholm (March 3, 1813,) by which the latter engaged to employ a body of 30,000 troops on the Continent in active service against France. It was agreed that this army should act in concert with the Russian troops placed, in consequence of other arrangements, under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden. Great Britain promised to employ every necessary means for procuring Sweden the possession of Norway, without having recourse to force; unless the King of Denmark should refuse to accede to the alliance of the North. She promised to furnish supplies to Sweden, and ceded to her the island of Guadeloupe. After this alliance with England, Sweden entered likewise into a league offensive and defensive with Prussia, by a treaty which was signed at Stockholm (April 22.) Frederic William promised to despatch 27,000 troops to join the army which the Prince Royal commanded in Germany.

Murat, to whom Bonaparte had intrusted the command of the few troops which he had brought back from Moscow, abandoned his commission, and retired to Naples. Eugene Beauharnais then assumed the command, and arrived with 16,000 men on the Elbe (March 10;) but after being joined by the French troops from Pomerania, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and a corps which General Grenier had formed, his army by the end of the month amounted to 87,000 men; extending along the left bank of the river from Dresden to Hamburg. In a short time, the whole disposable force of Bonaparte in Germany were again augmented to 308,000 men.

The Prussian army consisted of 128,000 troops, including garrisons and bodies of reserve; but the three battalions of Blucher, Yorke, and Bulow, who had taken the field, did not amount to more than 51,000 combatants. The main army of the Russians, which, since the death of Kutusoff, had been commanded by Count Witgenstein, amounted to 38,000 men; although the whole of the Russian forces on the Vistula and the Oder, and between the Oder and the Elbe, amounted to 166,000 men. The first action, which took place in Germany, was the battle of Luneburg (April 2,) where the Russian General Dorenberg obliged General Morand's division, on their route from Pomerania, to lay down their arms.

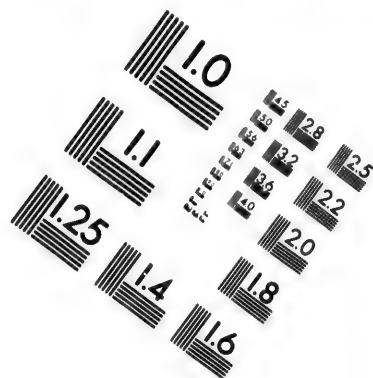
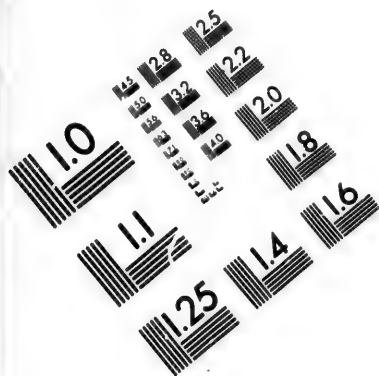
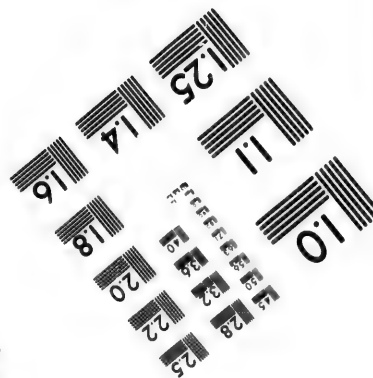
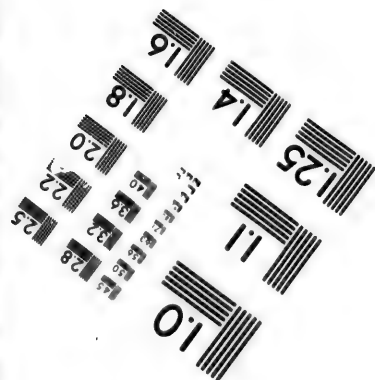
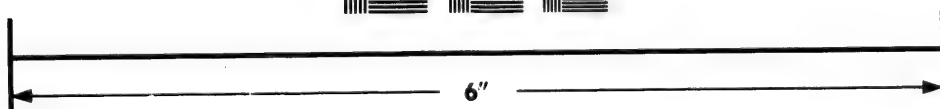
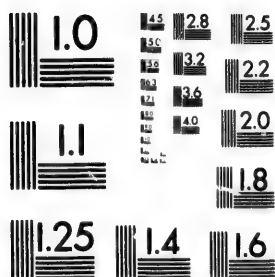


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On the 5th of April, Bonaparte took the command of his army in person; and on the 2d of May with 115,000 men, he engaged 169,000 Prussians and Russians, under the command of Wittgenstein. The advantage in that action was on the side of the French. The loss on both sides was equal. The Prussians took 1000 prisoners, with 10 pieces of cannon, without themselves losing one. The scene of this battle, so glorious for the Prussians, was in the neighbourhood of Gross-Gerschen, to which Bonaparte gave the name of Lutzen, in commemoration of the famous Gustavus Adolphus. In his bulletins he represented that battle, which was by no means decisive, as a complete victory, because the allies did not renew the combat, and next day commenced their retreat to the right bank of the Rhine, to advance nearer to their reinforcements.

They took up a position at Bautzen. Their numbers there amounted to 96,000 men, who engaged 148,000 French, under the command of Bonaparte (May 21, 1813.) The Allies had determined not to expose themselves to a defeat, but to terminate every battle the moment they saw it could not turn to their advantage. Within five days after that engagement, to which the French gave the name of the battle of Wurtchen, Blucher gained a decided advantage at Haynau over the division of General Maison, and captured the whole of their artillery. An armistice was then concluded between the two parties at Poischwitz.

This measure was at the request of Bonaparte, as it was necessary for him to await the arrival of his reinforcements, especially since he found himself menaced on the North by an invasion of the Swedes. It is probable he would not have taken this step had he penetrated the views of Austria; but Count Metternich had dexterously contrived to conceal these from him, in the several interviews which he had with him at Dresden, so that the sagacity of that great commander was completely at fault. The Allies had no wish for an armistice, which could only make them lose time, as their armaments were in a state of readiness; but they consented to it at the request of Austria, who had need of some delay to complete her preparations, although she was at first actuated by a different motive. She had still hopes to avoid the war, by inducing Bonaparte to accept those moderate conditions of peace to which the Allies had given their consent by the treaty of June 27, of which we shall have occasion to speak immediately. At the time when the armistice was signed, Count Metternich, who had apprized Bonaparte of these conditions, had already certain information that the two monarchs were not deceived in predicting that they would be refused. All hopes of peace had now vanished; but there still

remained another motive, which made the Court of Vienna anxious for further delay.

By a convention signed at Dresden (June 30,) Bonaparte accepted the mediation of Austria for a peace, either general or Continental; and the armistice, which was to expire on the 20th July, was prolonged to the 10th of August. At the request of Francis I., a sort of congress was opened at Prague. Bonaparte had no wish for peace, as he never supposed that Austria would declare against him. The Allies had no wish for it, as they knew well the disposition of that power; while Austria, the only Cabinet which had pacific views, had given up all hope of ever bringing Bonaparte to any reasonable terms of accommodation. Such were the auspices under which the Congress of Prague was opened. They were discussing the form in which the negotiations were to proceed, when the 10th of August arrived. The ministers of Russia and Prussia then declared that the term of the armistice had expired, and consequently that their diplomatic powers were at an end.

Within two days after, Austria declared war against Bonaparte; and the three monarchs who met at Prague, resolved to accompany the main army, which was under the command of Prince Schwartzemberg, during the whole campaign.

It will not be improper here to give a summary of the treaties which constituted the sixth coalition, and procured the accession of Austria so decisive for the cause of the allies. (1.) The treaty of Reichenbach (June 14,) between Great Britain and Prussia. The former bound herself to pay to the other, within the six months, 666,666*l.* sterling, for the maintenance of 80,000 troops; and came under the same engagement with regard to the augmentation of Prussia, that Russia had entered into by the treaty of Kalisch. The King of Prussia promised to cede to the Electorate of Hanover a certain portion of territory, including the principality of Hildesheim, and containing a population of between 3 and 400,000 souls. (2.) The treaty of Reichenbach between Great Britain and Russia (June 15,) by which the former promised to pay to the other, before the expiration of the year, 1,333,334*l.* sterling, for the maintenance of 160,000 men. (3.) The treaty of Reichenbach, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia (June 27;) the first engaged to declare war against Bonaparte, if at the conclusion of the armistice he had not accepted the conditions of peace which they offered him. The following are the proposals to which we have already alluded. Austria on her own behalf, demanded only the restitution of the Illyrian provinces, and the territory which she had ceded to the duchy of Warsaw. Such were the pledges of her sincere desire for

restoring peace to Europe. Prussia was content to obtain the restitution of her part of the same dutchy, and that of Dantzic, and the evacuation of the fortresses occupied by the French; thus abandoning all her possessions on the left bank of the Elbe. Moreover, they allowed the kingdom of Westphalia still to remain, and they deprived Bonaparte only of his last usurpations in the north of Germany. By another article of the treaty, it was stipulated, that if these conditions were rejected, and war once begun, they should never make peace but on condition that Austria and Prussia were to be again placed on the footing in which they had been in 1805; that the Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved; the independence of Holland and Italy secured: and the House of Bourbon restored to the throne of Spain. (4.) The treaty of Peterswaldau between Great Britain and Russia (July 6,) by which the former undertook to support a German legion of 10,000 men for the service of Russia. (5.) A definitive alliance signed at Toplitz (Sept. 9,) between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by which these powers were to assist each other with 60,000 men. It was agreed to reconstruct the Austrian monarchy upon the plan approaching as near as possible to that of 1805; to dissolve the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia; and to restore the House of Brunswick-Luneburg. (6.) The treaty of alliance signed at Toplitz between Austria and Great Britain.

Bonaparte, on his side, likewise acquired an ally at this important crisis. The Danes had already entered into Hamburg with the French, when Marshal Davoust compelled General Tettenborn to evacuate that city, (May 30,) which he had got possession of in the month of March. An English fleet having appeared off Copenhagen (May 31,) and demanded the cession of Norway in favour of Sweden, the King of Denmark concluded a treaty with Bonaparte at Copenhagen, by which the former engaged to declare war against Sweden, Russia and Prussia, and the latter against Sweden. Immediately after, an army of 12,000 Danes, under the command of Frederic Prince of Hesse was joined to that of Davoust.

The plan of the campaign for the allies had been settled in the conference held at Trachenberg by the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Prince Royal of Sweden, and the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Great Britain. The forces of the Coalition amounted to 264,000 Austrians, 249,000 Russians, 277,000 Prussians, and 24,000 Swedes; but not more than 700,000 men were engaged in the campaign; of which 192,000 were occupied with the sieges of Dantzic, Zamoscz, Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin. These 700,000 men were divided as follows

The Army of Bohemia, composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, under the command of Prince Schwartzberg, amounted to 237,700 men, with 698 pieces of cannon.

The Army of the North, composed of Prussians, Russians, and Swedes, under the command of the Prince Royal of Sweden, amounting to 154,000 men, with 387 pieces of cannon.

The Army of Silesia, composed of Prussians and Russians, under the command of Blucher, 95,000 strong, with 356 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army of Bavaria, commanded by Prince Reuss, containing 42,700 men, with 42 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army in Italy, under Hiller, 50,000 strong, with 120 pieces of cannon.

The Austrian Army of Reserve, stationed between Vienna and Presburg, under the command of Duke Ferdinand of Wurttemberg, 60,000 strong.

The Russian Army of Reserve in Poland, under the command of Bennigsen, 57,000 strong, with 198 pieces of cannon.

To these forces Bonaparte opposed an army of 462,000 men, including 80,000 who occupied thirteen fortresses; besides the army of Bavaria, which watched the movements of the Prince of Reuss, and 40,000 men which Eugene Beauharnais had in Italy.

Hostilities recommenced immediately after the termination of the armistice; Silesia, Saxony, and sometimes the frontiers, became the theatre of war. The Prince Royal of Sweden covered Berlin, which was threatened by Marshal Oudinot. The battle of Gross-Beeren (Aug. 23,) which was gained by the Prussian General Bulow, saved the capital. In Silesia, Blucher, pressed hard by Bonaparte, had retired as far as Jauer; but the latter having intelligence of the march of the allies on Dresden, retraced his steps with a part of his army, while Blucher attacked Marshal Macdonald at the river Katsbach, and gained a signal victory (Aug. 26,) in which he took 10,000 prisoners, and 103 pieces of cannon. General Puthod, who commanded a detachment of 8000 men, was obliged to surrender at Plagwitz to Count Langron (Aug. 29.) The army of Bohemia attacked Dresden a few hours after Bonaparte had arrived with his reinforcements. The battle was bloody, and lasted two days (Aug. 26, 27.) Thirteen thousand Austrians being cut off on the left wing, were obliged to lay down their arms; the allies retired in good order, leaving 6000 men killed and wounded on the field of battle, and 26 pieces of cannon in the hands of the French, who had lost 18,000 men by that victory. General Moreau, who had come on the invitation of the Prince Royal of Sweden to take a part in the struggle against Napoleon, was mortally wounded.

Before the battle, Vandamme had been detached with 30,000 men to cut off the retreat of the allies. He encountered Count Ostermann Tolstoy, who was at the head of 8000 Austrians, and repulsed him as far as the valley of Culm. The King of Prussia, who was at Toplitz, apprized the Russian general, that unless he made haste to arrest the march of Vandamme, the latter would succeed in cutting off the Emperor Alexander from his army. The Russians fought the whole day (Aug. 29,) with the most heroic determination; Count Ostermann having had his left arm carried off by a shot, the command was taken by Marshal Milloradowich. At length they were reinforced by several Austrian and Russian armies, which the King of Prussia had sent to their assistance, and which enabled them to maintain their position. During the night, Barclay de Tolly had arrived with new reinforcements, and next day (Aug. 30,) the famous battle of Culm was fought, which was decided by the arrival of General Kleist on the heights of Nollendorf, lying behind the position of Vandamme. The latter finding himself thus intercepted, a part of his cavalry forced their passage, by cutting their way through a regiment of recruits. Vandamme then surrendered himself prisoner, with 10,000 men and 81 pieces of cannon.

The grand object of Bonaparte was to get possession of Berlin. Ney, at the head of 80,000 men, was charged with the execution of this enterprise. But he sustained a complete rout at Denewitz (Sept. 6,) by the Prince Royal of Sweden; and another by Bulow and Tauenzien. The French there lost 20,000 prisoners, with 80 pieces of cannon, and all their baggage. The plan of the allies to withdraw Bonaparte from Dresden, and allure him into the plains of Saxony, where they could unite all their forces against him, succeeded entirely to their wish. He quitted Dresden (Oct. 7,) at the head of 125,000 men, with the hope of defeating the enemy in separate armies. But the latter had manœuvred so skilfully, that the armies of Bohemia, the North, Silesia, and the Russian army of reserve, were ready to effect a junction on a given signal. The plains of Leipsic decided the fate of Bonaparte. His army there amounted to 171,000 combatants. The allies would have had 301,000, namely, 78,000 Austrians, 69,500 Prussians, 136,000 Russians, and 18,000 Swedes, if they had been able to form a union at the commencement of the battle.

Several different engagements had preceded this great battle. On the 16th October, the army of Bohemia alone fought three several actions at Wachau, Connewitz, and Lindenau. None of these were productive of any decisive result; but Blucher

had encountered Marshal Marmont on the same day, and defeated him at Mockern. On the following day, there were some engagements, but without any decisive result; they were fought by the three armies of Sweden, Blucher, and Bennigsen, who were on their march to the field of battle at Leipsic. Bonaparte then began to be aware of the danger of his position. For the first time he foresaw the possibility of a defeat, and sent General Bertrand to Weissenfels to secure the bridge over the Saal. On the 18th, at day-break, he made proposals of an armistice and peace, through the Austrian General Meerfeld, who had fallen into his hands; but both the one and the other were disregarded. This was the first day of the battle of Leipsic; the French army resisted with great heroism, and it was not till after the arrival of Blucher and the army of Sweden, that they were compelled to abandon part of their position, and to retire to the very gates of Leipsic. Several bodies of Saxons and Wurtembergers passed over on that day to the ranks of the allies. During the night, the French army effected their retreat by Leipsic to Weissenfels. Macdonald and Poniatowski had orders to defend the city. It was attacked by the allies next day. The French made a vigorous resistance. At ten o'clock in the morning, Bonaparte escaped among the fugitives, the cannon, and the equipage which encumbered the gate of Altranstadt. The Elster, which runs by the city, had only one bridge, which they caused to be blown up as soon as Bonaparte had passed. Thus Macdonald and Poniatowski found themselves fairly enclosed with their divisions. The latter was drowned in attempting to swim across the Elster. Macdonald was made prisoner, as well as the King of Saxony, who had remained at Leipsic. Bonaparte, on these two days, lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 70,000 men, and 300 pieces of cannon. The allies purchased that victory by the death of 50,000 of their troops.

Bonaparte directed his flight with all haste towards Mayence, closely pursued by the Cossacs, who made a great many prisoners, besides a rich booty in cannon and baggage. When he arrived at Hanau, he found his passage intercepted by an enemy which he did not expect. Since the month of August, a negotiation had been set on foot with the King of Bavaria, for inducing him to abandon the cause of Bonaparte. To this measure he at length agreed, by a convention, which was signed at Ried (Oct. 8), which secured to Bavaria the possession of absolute and independent sovereignty, and complete indemnity for the restitutions which she was, in that case, to make to Austria.

Immediately after the signing the convention at Ried, the

Bavarian General Wrede, at the head of a body of between 45,000 and 50,000 Austrians and Bavarians, began their march by Neuburg, Anspach, and Wurzburg; and after taking this latter city, they proceeded to Hanau, of which he took possession (Oct. 24,) with 36,000 or 40,000 men. He encountered the French, who in their retreat had arrived at Gelnhausen; there a battle took place, which lasted for several successive days. Bonaparte lost 25,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but with the 35,000 that were left, he forced a passage, and retired to the left bank of the Rhine. Marshal St. Cyr, whom Bonaparte had left at Dresden, was obliged to capitulate with 27,000 men. Dantzic surrendered with 20,000 men, and Torgau with 10,000.

In the month of May, Eugene Beauharnais had taken the command of the army of Italy, which occupied the Illyrian provinces. But he was obliged to return beyond the Adige, before General Hiller, who, having made himself master of the Tyrol, was threatening to cut off his retreat. This campaign nevertheless did honour to the French general.

After the battle of Leipsic, the Prince Royal of Sweden marched against Davoust and the Danes, the former of whom was blocked up in Hamburg, and the Danes had retired into Sleswick. An armistice was granted them, from which however Gluckstadt and Fredericsort were excepted, as they had capitulated during the cessation of hostilities. Frederic VI. concluded a peace at Kiel in all haste (Jan. 14, 1814;) and Denmark entered into the alliance against Bonaparte. We shall have occasion to speak afterwards of the mutual cessions that were made by this treaty. On the same day Denmark signed a peace with Great Britain. She promised to furnish 10,000 men to take the field against Bonaparte, and Great Britain engaged to pay them 33,333*l.* per month. Peace was at the same time established between Denmark and Russia, by the treaty of Hanover (Feb. 8;) and between Denmark and Prussia by that of Berlin (Aug. 25.)

Meantime Bonaparte had recalled Marshal Soult from Spain with a part of his troops. Lord Wellington, the Generalissimo of the Spanish armies, defeated Jourdan at Vittoria (June 21, 1813;) where 15,000 French were left on the field of battle, and 3000 made prisoners. Jourdan lost the whole of his artillery. Joseph Bonaparte then abandoned the throne of Spain for ever. The activity of Marshal Suchet defeated an expedition by sea, undertaken by Sir John Murray against Tarragona. Lord Wellington took St. Sebastian and Pampeluna (Aug. 31,) and compelled the French army to pass the Bidassoa, and to retire on Bayonne. Soult again took the command, and by means of reinforcements increased the army to 40,000 men.

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In Germany, the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia had both been dissolved. The Electors of Hanover and Hesse, the Dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg, were restored to the possession of their patrimonies, and joined the alliance. The King of Wurtemberg, and the Elector of Baden, made their peace with the Allies, by means of special treaties. All the princes of the Rhenish Confederation entered into the Grand League, except the King of Saxony, the Grand Duke of Frankfort, and the princes of Isenburg and Leyen, who were excluded from it, and their territories treated as conquered provinces.

On his return to Paris, Bonaparte announced his intention of continuing the war, and caused the Senate to grant him a new conscription of 300,000 men. Nevertheless he appeared willing to bring to a conclusion the negotiations which the Allies on the Continent had set on foot. According to the terms agreed on at Toplitz, the Rhine was to form the frontier of France, and the kingdom of Holland was to be given to a brother of Bonaparte; but the movements of Napoleon, and the warlike preparations which he had ordered, gave England an opportunity of changing the sentiments of these monarchs; and they determined to adopt the scheme which Mr. Pitt had contrived in 1805.

The decree of the Senate, of November 18, 1813, completed the immense number of 1,260,000 men; all of whom, independently of the existing army, had been sacrificed to the restless ambition of Bonaparte. The forces with which the Allies invaded France, were divided into three armies.

The *Army of Bohemia*, commanded by Prince Schwartzemberg, and composed of 261,000 men, Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Germans, was destined to enter France by way of Switzerland.

The *Army of Silesia*, under the command of Blucher, consisting of 137,000 men, Prussians, Russians, and Germans, were to pass the Rhine near Mayence.

The *Army of the North*, composed of 174,000 Prussians, Russians, Germans, Swedes, Dutch and English, were to occupy Holland and the Netherlands. They were to be commanded by the Prince Royal of Sweden, and, in his absence, by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

Independently of these three armies, the Allies had an army of reserve of 235,000 men, and the Austrians had an army of 80,000 men in Italy. About the end of December 1813, and the beginning of the year 1814, the two first armies entered France. We can only advert to the principal events of that short campaign. After some actions of minor importance

Blucher attacked Bonaparte at Rothiere with a superior force, and in spite of the vigorous resistance which he met with, he gained a complete victory (Feb. 1.) Thirteen days afterwards, Bonaparte returned him the compliment at Etoges or Vauchamp. Being enclozed by Grouchy, Blucher had to cut his way at the point of the bayonet, and lost 6000 men.

The Allies, after having received various checks, combined their two armies at Troyes (Feb. 21;) but Prince Schwartzemberg, not wishing to give battle in that position, began to retreat. Blucher then separated from him to continue on the defensive; after being reinforced, however, by the divisions of Bulow and Winzingerode, which had arrived from Belgium; their junction took place at Soissons (March 3.) Blucher took up a position behind the Aisne. Bonaparte having passed that river, defeated two bodies of Russians under Woronzoff and Saken at Craone (March 7,) and attacked Blucher at Laon (March 10.) He was there totally defeated; and that victory induced Schwartzemberg to abandon the defensive, and march on Paris. He engaged Bonaparte at Arcis-sur-Aube, where the battle, although bloody, was not decisive. They were in expectation of seeing the engagement renewed next day, when Bonaparte suddenly resolved to march to St. Dizier, to cut off the allies from their communication with the Rhine, as well as to draw reinforcements from the garrisons of Lorraine and Alsace, and thus transfer the theatre of war to Germany.

But before bringing the sketch of this campaign to a close, it will be necessary to take notice of the Congress of Chatillon, which was opened on the 5th February, and which was a continuation of the negotiations that had taken place towards the close of the year 1813. The allies consented to allow Bonaparte to retain the crown of France, but the limits of that kingdom to be reduced to what they had been in 1792. Bonaparte at first seemed willing to treat on these terms, but his real object was to gain time. Whenever his troops had gained any advantage he immediately heightened his tone; and in the course of six weeks the allies broke off the conference. During the sitting of the Congress of Chatillon, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, signed the famous Quadruple Alliance at Chaumont (March 1,) which became the basis of the new political system of Europe. Each of the allies engaged to maintain an army of 150,000 men constantly in the field against the common enemy. Great Britain promised to furnish to the three other powers a subsidy of 5,000,000*l.* sterling for the year 1814; in such a way, however, that she was only to pay them proportionally until the end of the month in which the peace should

be concluded, adding to these two monarchs for the return of the Austrian and Prussian troops, and four for those of the Russians. The main object of this alliance was the re-establishment of an equilibrium of power, based upon the following arrangements:—German, to be composed of Sovereign Princes united by a federal bond: The Confederation of Switzerland to be restored to its ancient limits and its former independence: Italy to be divided into Independent States, lying between the Austrian possessions in that peninsula and France: Holland to be a free and independent State, under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, with an increase of territory.

Blucher had made himself master of Chalons and Chateau Thierry, when the allies learned, by an intercepted letter, what were the plans of Bonaparte. In order to persuade him that they had taken the alarm at his march, and were resolved to follow him, they sent Count Winzingerode after him at the head of a body of 8000 cavalry, which he might easily mistake for the vanguard of the allies. By this manœuvre he was deceived, and continued his route eastwards while the allies directed their march on Paris. Schwartzberg attacked and beat the two divisions of Marmont and Mortier, at Soude St. Croix (March 25,) while the army of Silesia compelled Puthod and Amey to surrender near Lafere Champenoise. This double encounter cost the French 5000 killed, 10,000 prisoners, and 80 pieces of cannon. Marmont and Mortier retreated to Paris, but they were defeated at Montmartre and Belleville (March 30.) The heights, which on that side overlook Paris, were taken by the allies, who purchased that victory by the loss of 9000 men. A capitulation for Paris was signed the same night.

The entrance of the allies into the capital of France took place next day. The Emperor Alexander immediately declared in his own name, and in that of his allies, that they could treat no more with Napoleon, or with any of his family. He invited the Senate to establish a provisional government,—a measure which was necessary, as the Count D'Artois, who was appointed the King's Lieutenant-General, had not yet arrived. He likewise invited that body to prepare a constitution, that is to say, to submit their counsel and advice to the King, as to the modifications to be made in the government; for the French constitution which is based on the Salic law has been in existence for centuries. The Emperor Alexander made that proposal to the Senate, as being the only order of the State then in existence; but that monarch did not know that the Senate was the last authority to which the public opinion would have granted any influence, as to the settlement of the condition of France

The General Council of the Department of the Seine, and the Municipal Council of Paris, demanded the return of Louis XVIII., their legitimate sovereign (April 1.) In pronouncing the deposition of Bonaparte next day, the Senate exercised a right which did not belong to them. As that body owed its existence to Napoleon, its functions should have ceased with his.

On the seventh day of his march the *Emperor of the French* discovered his error. He then returned in all haste towards Fontainebleau. After several unsuccessful attempts, either to regain his power or to transmit it to his son, he was obliged to sign his abdication (April 10.) Next day Austria, Prussia, and Russia, drew up a convention with his delegates Ney, Macdonald, and Caulincourt, by which, at the suggestion of the Emperor of Russia, they secured him the possession of the Island of Elba, with full sovereignty; and the States of Parma for his wife and son. Great Britain acceded to that arrangement, to which the King of France yet remained a stranger. Bonaparte soon after embarked at St. Rapheau, to repair to his place of exile.

The narrow space to which we must confine our observations, obliges us to pass in silence over the military events which took place in Holland and Belgium, and on the side of Lyons. But we must say a word or two on the war in the Pyrenees and in Italy. Anticipating the resolutions of the Allied Sovereigns, Lord Wellington, with whom the Duke D'Angouleme then was, invited the French, by a proclamation dated January 27th, to replace Louis on the throne. Within a month after, he defeated the army of Soult at Orthes (Feb. 27,) and compelled that General to retire to Tarbes. To satisfy the wishes of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Marshal Beresford conducted the Duke D'Angouleme to that place, which was the first city in France that proclaimed Louis XVIII. (March 13.) The allies had already entered Paris, and Bonaparte had abdicated his crown, when Lord Wellington, who was ignorant of these events, fought his last battle with Soult at Toulouse (April 10.) In that sanguinary but fruitless engagement, the French were totally defeated.

In Italy, an event not a little extraordinary had happened. Murat had turned his back on his benefactor, who had raised him from the dust to encircle his brow with a diadem. From the commencement of the year 1813, he had endeavoured to have his title acknowledged by the House of Austria. After the battle of Leipsic, he abandoned the Continental system, from a wish to please England, and throw open the ports of his kingdom to all sorts of merchandise. He entered into a negotiation

with the Courts both of London and Vienna, with a view to be admitted into the grand alliance; at the same time, he set on foot an army of 34,000 men, who entered Rome and directed their march towards Ancona. Austria concluded an alliance with him (Jan. 11, 1814,) which guaranteed to him the possession of the kingdom of Naples, with the reservation of an indemnity for the King of Sicily. Immediately after, Murat announced the change in his political conduct. He blockaded the citadel of Ancona, took possession of Florence, where his sister-in-law, the Grand Duchess, escaped to save her life, and pushed on as far as Modena. Lord Bentinck, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, then concluded an armistice with Murat. Eugene Beauharnais, who had supposed that the Neapolitan army would come to his succour, was at length undeceived, and obliged to retreat on the Mincio; but he fought a battle with Field-Marshal Bellegarde who commanded the Austrians in the room of Hiller (Feb. 8,) which cost the latter the loss of 8,500 men; in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Fouché, who was at Lucca as Commissary-general of Bonaparte, concluded a convention with the Neapolitans, in virtue of which Tuscany was restored to them. The Viceroy, seeing himself pressed on the one hand by the Austrians, and on the other by the Neapolitans; and having received intelligence of the entrance of the allies into Paris, negotiated an armistice, which was signed at Schiavino Rizzino (April 16.) A few days after, his friends made an attempt to have him proclaimed King of Italy by the people of Milan. But the hatred which the Italians had for the French prevailed over their attachment to the Viceroy, who wisely adopted the resolution of surrendering all the places in the kingdom of Italy to the Austrian troops, and retired with his family to Germany.

The Senate of France had, with all expedition, completed and published a pretended constitution (April 6,) in which two things especially shocked the opinion of the public, viz. the care which the authors of that production had taken to secure the continuance of their own authority with the revenues thereto attached, and the violation of the first principle of monarchy of which they had been guilty, by arrogating to themselves the right of conferring the crown of France on him to whom it belonged by birth-right, and who, far from renouncing it, had taken care to secure his rights by formal protestations. Within six days after, the Count D'Artois, the King's Lieutenant-general, arrived in Paris, and concluded a convention with the allies (April 23,) as a prelude to a general peace. They engaged to evacuate the territory of France; and they settled the terms on which the

places possessed by the French troops not within their own territories, were to be delivered up. The King of France had landed at Calais (April 25,) and was slowly approaching his capital. A declaration, which he published at St. Ouen (May 2,) annulled the constitution of the Senate, and promised the nation a charter, the principles of which were announced in that same declaration. Next day Louis XVIII. made his solemn entry into Paris.

The first care of Louis was to conclude peace with the Allies. A military convention was signed (May 28,) regulating different points regarding the maintenance and march of the troops, hospitals, magazines, &c.; and immediately treaties of peace were concluded with the four grand powers (May 30,) to which the others acceded. France was to return to her ancient limits of January 1, 1792, with an augmentation of territory on the north side. She likewise retained Avignon and the County of Venaissin. Louis XVIII. adhered to the principles of the alliance of Chaumont, as to the political system to be established in Europe. England retained Malta, but gave up the French colonies, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France, with their dependencies. Guiana, which had been taken from Portugal, was restored. Certain secret articles pointed out the manner in which the Allied Powers were to dispose of the territories surrendered by France; and annulled the endowments and donations made by Bonaparte in these territories. Certain special articles were added with regard to Prussia, which annulled the peace of Tilsit, and all its consequences.

In the month of June, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Prince Metternich, repaired to London, where they concluded a new quadruple alliance, by which the contracting powers engaged to keep on foot an army of 75,000 men each, until the restoration of order in Europe. The sovereigns agreed also, during their stay in London, that Belgium should be united to Holland, with which it was to form one and the same State.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, Louis XVIII. published the charter or Constitution which he proposed to the nation. This was not a constitution in the sense which had been attached to that word since the year 1789; that is to say, a body of laws or regulations, fully and finally settling the prerogative of the King, and the powers of the different authorities, as well as the rights and privileges of the citizens. It was a declaration by which the King, in conformity with the principles which had prevailed for a century, modified the Royal power in certain respects, and promised never to exercise it in future

except according to the established forms. Thus the Royal authority, which Louis XVIII. derived from his ancestors, and which was founded on the ancient order of succession, remained inviolate and entire in all its branches.

The peace of Paris gave rise to a multitude of treaties between the different powers of Europe. Of these we can only notice a small number, which we shall do when we come to speak of the history of these countries. Meantime, we must confine our remarks to general affairs, and more particularly to those in which France is concerned.

An article in the treaty of Paris, of May 30th, had stipulated that within the space of two months, the plenipotentiaries of all the powers who had taken part in the late events, France included, should meet in a general Congress at Vienna, to concert the necessary arrangements for completing the conditions and regulations of the treaty. The reconstruction of Germany into a body politic; the replacing of Prussia and Austria on a footing analogous to the power which they had enjoyed in 1806 and 1805; the fate of Poland; the establishment of an independent state between France and Germany; the neutrality of Switzerland; the organization of Italy, which had been completely subverted by Bonaparte; the regulating of the indemnities which might be claimed by the different States who had taken a part in the war; and the settling of the territorial exchanges to which these claims might give rise, were the important objects about which the plenipotentiaries were necessarily to be employed. To these England added one subject which might appear foreign to the business of that Congress, viz. the question as to the abolition of Negro Slavery; another arose from the most unexpected event of Napoleon's return, which compelled the sovereigns of Europe again to take arms, and to conquer France a second time.

Owing to different causes, the opening of the Congress did not take place till towards the end of the year. We may mention, with regard to the form of the Congress, that although it was composed of the plenipotentiaries of all the allies, great and small, they never held any general Session. The affairs of Germany were kept distinct from those of the rest of Europe; the Congress, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of the five great powers, namely, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia; and the other of the plenipotentiaries of these and the remaining powers; Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, being added to the first five. The questions relating to Germany, were discussed at first by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemberg; although, afterwards, all the sovereigns of

Germany were called into these deliberations. There were certain affairs which were prepared and discussed by special commissions.

The subject which occasioned the greatest difficulty, and which was even on the point of disturbing the unanimity of the Cabinets, was the reconstruction of the Prussian monarchy. Prussia was to be restored to all that she had possessed in 1805, except the principalities of Franconia, which were in the possession of Bavaria; the district of Bialystock which was annexed to Russia; and the grand duchy of Posenania, which Alexander had declared his intention of comprehending in the kingdom of Poland which he proposed to restore. Frederic William promised to cede to Hanover a territory inhabited by between three and four hundred thousand souls. For these losses he claimed an indemnity; and as Saxony was the only kingdom which could offer him compensation, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, had consented to an acquisition which seemed to be justified by the conduct of the King of Saxony, who in 1807 had shared the spoils of Prussia, and in 1813 had made common cause with Bonaparte.

The Emperor Alexander thus put Prussia in possession of Saxony, which her troops had till then occupied. The manner, however, in which public opinion in England and in Europe generally had expressed itself against the designs of Prussia, and the insinuations of the French minister at Vienna, induced Austria and the Cabinet of London to oppose the execution of this plan, not only by interesting themselves for the preservation of Saxony, but by disputing the claims advanced by Prussia, and refusing to allow the duchy of Warsaw to fall entirely into the hands of Russia. The Emperor Alexander, who concurred entirely with Prussia, supported it with all his efforts. Being apprized, however, that Austria, France, and Great Britain had just concluded an alliance or agreement which appeared to have some reference to the fate of Saxony, and wishing to remove every ground of misunderstanding, he offered to augment the portion of Prussia on the side of Poland, and advised her to be content with the moiety of Saxony which was offered her, and to accept the provinces beyond the Rhine, which were also destined for her.

The five powers having come to an agreement on these points (Feb. 12,) the king of Saxony was invited to come to the neighbourhood of Vienna. Ever since the battle of Leipsic, that Prince had remained in a kind of captivity at Fredericsfeldt near Berlin. He accepted the invitation and repaired to Vienna, but he refused to consent to the cessions which they demanded of

him. His refusal induced the five great powers to go to greater excess; they ordained that, until the King should have come to a determination, Prussia should remain in possession of the whole of Saxony. Frederic Augustus was obliged to yield to the course of events, and ratified a treaty which was signed at Vienna (May 18.) That part of his kingdom which was ceded to Prussia was named the Dutchy of Saxony.

The organization of Germany into a Confederacy, to be composed of sovereign States, was, next to the settlement of Prussia, the object which occasioned the greatest embarrassment. But as France and Prussia took no direct part in it, and as for that reason it can scarcely be said to belong to the class of general affairs, we shall not now speak of it. The same must be done with regard to all the negotiations concerning Switzerland and Italy, of which we shall speak elsewhere.

Great Britain had introduced the question as to Negro Slavery, of which, in the name of humanity and religion, she demanded the entire abolition, by a decree of all Europe. Denmark had prohibited that traffic long before England. Neither Austria, Russia, Prussia, nor Sweden, had any motive for favouring it; but it was not the case with Portugal, Spain, and France, who referred, with reason, to the example of England herself, for resisting the introduction of any sudden change which would be pernicious to the state of their colonies, and might ruin the fortune of their subjects. These powers readily agreed to combine with England for the abolition of the trade; but they wished that it should be left to each of them to fix the term on which they could do so to the most advantage. This question was made the subject of discussion in the conferences between the eight powers at Vienna. Lord Castlereagh demanded, in the name of the British government, that all the powers should announce their support of the general principle of the abolition of the slave trade, and their wish to carry that measure into effect with the shortest possible delay. This proposition was unanimously adopted; but the other proposal which he made, to inquire into the possibility of an immediate abolition, or at least, into the period when each of the powers might be able to fix its ultimate abolition; and a third by which he wished to obtain an immediate partial abolition of that traffic, met with the most decided resistance on the part of the three States who had foreign colonies. As the four other powers had no right to interfere in the internal legislation of these States, the Declaration which the Congress published (Feb. 8.) proclaimed the principle recognised by them all, viz. that the determination of the period when the trade was to cease generally should be left to the negotiations of the contracting powers.

Europe was in the enjoyment of apparent tranquillity, when Bonaparte quitted Elba, landed with a thousand adventurers on the shores of France (March 1,) invited his former friends to join him, and deceiving the inhabitants by pretending to be supported by Austria, marched towards Paris, which he entered within twenty days after his landing. The King and the Royal Family were again obliged to retire to Lille. When Louis arrived in that city, he signed an order for disbanding the army; but the greater part of the troops had already sworn allegiance to Napoleon. Finding himself insecure at Lille, the King retired to Ghent (March 30.) Bonaparte published a new constitution (April 22,) under the title of *The Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire*. One of the articles which it contained, pronounced the perpetual banishment of the Bourbons. In order to flatter the partisans of the sovereign people, this act was submitted for their acceptance, and Bonaparte summoned an assembly of extraordinary deputies, to meet in the Champ de Mai. He likewise summoned a Chamber of the Representatives, or Legislative Body. The meeting of the Champ de Mai was held; and two days after, a Chamber of Peers, created by Bonaparte, and a Chamber of the Representatives of the Nation, opened their sessions.

So soon as the news of the landing of Bonaparte in France was received at Vienna, the eight contracting powers published a declaration importing, that as Bonaparte had thus broken the convention which had placed him in the Island of Elba, he had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended, and had thus forfeited all relations, civil and social. The allied sovereigns refused to receive the letters by which he announced to them that he had again taken possession of the throne of France. Being of opinion, that the time was come for executing the engagements they had contracted at Chaumont, the four powers who were parties to that treaty, renewed their engagements by new treaties of alliance (March 25.) They promised to combine all their forces for maintaining the treaty of Paris of May 30th 1814, and to set on foot, each of them, an army of 180,000 men. By an additional convention, Great Britain undertook to pay to the three others, subsidies to the amount of 5,000,000*l.* Sterling *per annum*. All the princes of the Germanic Confederation,—Portugal, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Denmark, acceded to this alliance; and Great Britain granted subsidies to them all, proportioned to the forces which they might send into the field. Of all the powers having plenipotentiaries at Vienna, Spain and Sweden only declined entering into this alliance. The King of Spain refused his ac-

cession, as being contrary to his dignity ; he would have had no objections to have become a principal party, and he co-operated as such in the war. Sweden was too much occupied with the conquest of Norway to take any part in the deliverance of France.

There was still another monarch who had not joined the alliance of Vienna, and that was Murat. The King of France had refused to acknowledge him as King of Naples, and Lord Castlereagh had declared at Vienna, that Great Britain could not treat with Murat, as he had not fulfilled his engagements ; and, therefore, that it depended on the Congress to decide as to the fate of the kingdom of Naples. These declarations induced Murat to take arms ; nevertheless, he continued to dissemble, until he learned that Bonaparte had arrived at Lyons. Then it was that he threw off the mask. He marched at the head of his army towards the Po, and issued a proclamation (March 30,) by which he proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants of Italy. The Austrian army in that peninsula, immediately put themselves in motion to oppose him. Being defeated at Tolentino by General Bianchi (May 2,) he retreated first to Naples, and after a short stay there, he took refuge in France. The government of Ferdinand IV. was again restored.

Meantime, as the partisans of Bonaparte, and the revolutionists every where, were at great pains to propagate and cherish doubts as to the determination of the allied sovereigns to follow up the act of the 13th March, which had been adopted at a time when it was hoped that France would have no more need of foreign aid ; the allied sovereigns deemed it necessary to make known the expression of their principles by a solemn act ; to which they gave the form of a *procès-verbal*, or edict, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the eight powers. The publication of that act was equivalent to a declaration of war against Bonaparte. It opened the eyes of those credulous followers who had till then believed that Austria and Russia were on friendly terms with him.

All the negotiations of the Congress of Vienna being terminated by the signing of the Act of the Germanic Confederation, which took place on June 8th, the plenipotentiaries of the eight contracting powers next day signed the *Act of Congress*, which was a recapitulation or abstract of all their preceding regulations, either by particular treaties or by declarations and edicts, (or protocols, as they are sometimes called at Vienna,) relative to Poland, the territorial arrangements in Germany, the Germanic Confederation, the kingdom of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, the navigation of rivers, the rank of diplomatic agents, and the form of accessions and ratifications of

the act itself. Thus did this august assembly terminate its labours.

An army of 1,365,000 men were preparing to invade France, but the struggle against Bonaparte was decided by about 200,000; and not more than 500,000 foreigners set foot on the soil of France. The allies had formed four armies, viz.

The *Army of the Netherlands*, commanded by Lord Wellington, consisting of 71,000 English, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, with the troops of the Netherlands and Nassau.

The *Army of the Lower Rhine*, consisting of 140,000 Prussians, under the command of Blucher.

The *Army of the Upper Rhine*, commanded by Schwartzenberg, and consisting of 130,000 Austrian, and 124,000 German troops.

The *Army of the Middle Rhine*, 168,000 strong, under the command of Barclay de Tolly. They were to be stationed between the two preceding armies, but they were unable to arrive in time at the scene of action, and the campaign was decided by the first two armies alone.

The forces of Bonaparte amounted to 213,000 men, exclusive of 147,000 of the national guard to be employed in garrison. He had divided them into eight armies. That of the north, which he commanded himself, consisted of 108,000 men.

Bonaparte opened the campaign on the 15th June, by detaching a second corps across the Sambre, to attack the Prussian General Zieten, who was obliged to yield to the superior strength of the enemy, and retire towards Fleurus. Next day the Duke of Brunswick, who had left Brussels at the head of 12,000 men to support the Prussians, was killed at Quatre Bras; Marshal Ney, who commanded the French, sustained a considerable loss; on the same day Marshal Blucher was defeated at Ligny, but he retired in the greatest order to Brie. Bonaparte from that moment resolved to attack Wellington, who gave him battle at Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean. The combat was continued, with various success, from morning till four o'clock, when the Prussians, consisting of General Bulow's division, and commanded by Blucher in person, approached the field of battle, and fell suddenly on the right wing of the French, while Bonaparte supposed that the whole Prussian army was engaged with Grouchy, whom he had sent against them with a detachment of 40,000 men. On the first appearance of the Prussians, Bonaparte supposed that it was General Grouchy, who after having defeated the Prussians, was marching to the support of his right wing. The fact is, that General Thielmans, having been attacked by Grouchy near Wavre, Blucher

had sent him word to defend himself the best way he could, and did not allow himself to be diverted from his original plan of falling upon the right wing of Bonaparte. When Bonaparte at length discovered his error, he lost all resolution. His army were panic-struck, and fled in all directions. He was himself nearly taken prisoner, having escaped with great difficulty. The Germans have given this battle the name of *Belle Alliance*, from the house where Blucher and Wellington met after the action. Of 120,000 French, 60,000 were either taken or killed in the two days of the 16th and 18th June 1815; 64,000 English, and 50,000 Prussians were engaged in the battle. The English lost 14,000 men on the 18th, and the Prussians 33,000 in the two engagements of the 16th and 18th.

Bonaparte made his escape to Paris, but the Chamber of Representatives, composed of the partisans of the Revolution of 1789, and of Republicans who had no wish to promote the interest of Bonaparte, except as an instrument for the execution of their own plans, determined to take advantage of the contempt into which he had fallen to get rid of his presence. They required him to abdicate, which he did June 22d, in favour of his son. The Chambers appointed a government commission, at the head of which they placed Fouché, who sent deputies to Heidelberg, where the head-quarters of the Allied Sovereigns then were, with a commission to treat with them on the basis of the national independence, and the inviolability of the soil of France. But as there was no mention made in the propositions about the restoration of the King, the allies refused to treat until Bonaparte should first be delivered up to them.

Bonaparte had demanded of Wellington and Blucher, passports for quitting France; and on being refused, the government commission conveyed him to Rochefort, where he was to embark on board a frigate and go to America. But Captain Maitland, who was cruising off that port with an English vessel, prevented him from leaving the place unless he would surrender to the English, on which condition he promised to guarantee his life. The danger becoming every day more pressing, he at length saw himself compelled to submit. The Bellerophon, with Bonaparte on board, arrived in Torbay (July 24,) but the English government would not permit the General to set foot on land. By a convention signed by the allies at Paris (Aug. 2,) England took upon herself the charge of keeping guard over him at St. Helena. He was accordingly transported to that island, where he remained till his death, which happened May 5th, 1821.

After the battle of the 18th June, Wellington and Blucher

marched immediately to Paris, as did also the army of Schwartzberg by way of Nancy. Davoust had joined the fugitives; and as Grouchy had had the good fortune to save his division, they were enabled to form a new army of 60,000 men, which made some attempts to defend Paris. Several engagements took place at Sevres and Issy; after which Marshal Davoust announced to the two Field-M Marshals that Paris was on the point of surrendering. A capitulation was signed at St. Cloud (July 3,) and the French army retired behind the Loire.

The allies occupied Paris on the 7th July, and Louis XVIII. entered on the following day. Within two days after, the Allied Sovereigns arrived. A decree of 24th July declared twenty-nine individuals, named in 1814, unworthy of their country, as having sat in the Chamber of Bonaparte, and sworn the banishment of the Bourbons. Nineteen persons accused of having betrayed the King before the 23d March, were remitted to the tribunals; thirty-eight other individuals were ordered to quit Paris. These latter were in general relapsed regicides, that is, persons who, after having obtained pardon in 1814, had, in 1815, signed the banishment of the Bourbons; for the King never broke his word of honour given to the primary regicides, to leave them to the remonstrances of their own conscience. Some months after (Jan. 12, 1816,) the decree of July 24th was changed into a law; with this modification, that the relapsed regicides were to be exiled from the soil of France. Of the individuals arraigned before the tribunals, two only were executed, Marshal Ney and Colonel Labedoyere; a third (Lavalette,) was saved by the courage of his wife. The clemency of the King threw a veil over all other crimes.

The army of the Loire submitted to the King; but the war continued, nevertheless, for some time on the frontiers of France, as it was a part of the plan of the allies to occupy all the fortresses; and the greater part of the commandants refused to receive them. The allies were at length convinced, that in order to secure the tranquillity of France, it was necessary to take more vigorous measures than they had done in 1814; but it was not until the month of September that their plan was sufficiently matured to enable them to open negotiations with France. They had many difficulties to encounter; and the treaty between France and the Allies was not signed until the 20th November. According to that treaty, France made several territorial cessions to the Netherlands, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, and the King of Sardinia.

It was agreed, that France should pay to the allies a pecuniary indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs; that 150,000

of the allied troops should occupy certain places in France for five years; and that they should be paid and maintained by France. By an additional article, they engaged reciprocally to concert measures for obtaining the entire and final abolition of the slave trade.

The same day, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, concluded an alliance for the following purposes:—(1.) The maintenance of the treaties and conventions which had just been concluded: And, (2.) The perpetual exclusion of Napoleon Bonaparte and his family from the sovereignty of France; the maintenance of tranquillity in that country; and the suppression of revolutionary principles, so that they might never again distract France, or threaten the repose of Europe. For this twofold object, the allies agreed to furnish their contingents as determined by the alliance of Chaumont; finally, they agreed to have another personal conference in the course of the year 1818.

Prior to this quadruple alliance which, by securing the maintenance of the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of France, forms one of the bases of the new political system of Europe, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, signed at Paris (Sept. 26,) an Act, known by the name of the *Holy Alliance*, which forms the second basis of the same system. The real object of this alliance was doubtless a mutual guarantee against any encroachments which might be made on their sovereign power; to disguise this, it set forth their firm determination to take no other rule for their conduct than the precepts of the Christian religion. They promised to continue in the indissoluble bonds of brotherly union, and to be ready on all occasions, and in all places, to succour and assist each other—to consider themselves but as members of the same Christian nation, and as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the same family; and finally, to receive into the same alliance all other powers who were willing to profess the same principles which had dictated that act. All the Christian powers in Europe acceded to the treaties and conventions of the 20th November 1815, except Sweden, who had taken no share in the war. They all entered into the Holy Alliance, except the King of Great Britain, who, while he fully sanctioned the principles set forth in that Act, was prevented from signing it, because, according to the constitutional custom of England, the Sovereign signs nothing without the countersigning of a responsible minister.

Here it will be necessary briefly to point out the more important events which happened since 1811 in the other European States, and the changes which were produced by the Congress of Vienna.

Portugal seemed destined to be nothing more in future than a dependency of Brazil, in a political point of view, as she already was of England with respect to agriculture, industry, and commerce. The latter power attached so great an importance to the abolition of the slave trade, that by a treaty signed during the conferences at Vienna, she had purchased the effective co-operation of Portugal in this measure, by giving up all the advantages which she had reserved to herself by the treaty of Rio Janeiro of February 19th 1810, which she consented to annul; nevertheless, Portugal only prohibited her subjects conditionally from carrying on the slave trade in that part of Africa lying to the north of the Equator.

In Spain, the Extraordinary Cortes then assembled at Cadiz, after having published a decree, January 1, 1811, importing that they could make no treaty with France until the King enjoyed full liberty, and that he could not be regarded as at liberty until he had taken the constitutional oath, finished the work which they alleged had been intrusted to their hands. Their constitution, which was founded on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, intrusted the legislative power to a popular assembly, and the execution of the laws to a functionary with limited authority, decorated with the title of a King, was published on the 18th of March 1812. In violation of historic truth, it was announced to the world as the genuine ancient constitution of Spain. The Cortes terminated their session on the 20th September 1813. The new or ordinary Cortes, convened in the constitutional form at the rate of one deputy for every 70,000 inhabitants, without distinction of fortune or estate, transferred their sitting to Madrid towards the end of the year. It was this extraordinary meeting of the Cortes that concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance (July 28, 1813) with the Emperor of Russia at Weliki-Louki, where he had then his head-quarters. Alexander there acknowledged the Cortes and their constitution. That acknowledgment was extremely simple. Alexander could not treat except with the government then established. That government acted in the name of Ferdinand VII., and their acts were to be regarded as legitimate so long as that prince had not disavowed them. The Emperor of Russia had neither the will nor the power to lend his sanction to an order of things which had not the approbation of a King, in the full enjoyment of liberty. It was in this same sense that the King of Prussia entered into an alliance with the Spanish government, by a treaty which was signed at Basle (Jan. 20, 1814.)

After returning from the campaign of 1813, Bonaparte considering Spain as lost, resolved to set Ferdinand VII. at liberty.

but in the hope of turning that tardy act of justice to his advantage by making that prince his friend, he represented Spain as overrun with Jacobinism, which was labouring to overturn the throne, and to substitute a republic in its place; and he accused England as having favoured that project. Ferdinand VII. demanded that a deputation of the Regency should be admitted to a personal interview with him, who might inform him as to the real state of matters. Bonaparte, who executed with despatch whatever he had once resolved, found this mode of proceeding too slow. He empowered M. de la Forêt, whom he had sent to Valencay to conclude a treaty with his captive, by which the latter was acknowledged King of Spain; and promised, on his part, to cause the English troops to evacuate the whole of that kingdom.

Ferdinand VII. sent his minister, the Duke of San Carlos, to Madrid, for the ostensible purpose of communicating that treaty to the Regency, but in reality to take cognizance of the state of affairs. The Regency refused to acknowledge the treaty of Valencay, because the King was not at liberty. Bonaparte being apprized of this difficulty, immediately released Ferdinand (Mar. 7, 1814.) He set out on his return to his dominions, but performed his journey slowly, that he might have leisure to obtain personal information, as to the spirit which reigned among the Spaniards. He was soon convinced, that the people, attached to their religion, and to the family of their lawful prince, were very indifferent about the constitution of the Cortes, and that that assembly enjoyed very little influence or authority. Sixty members of the Cortes had even protested against an Act which, by degrading the Royal Dignity, was preparing the way for establishing a democracy. On his arrival at Valencia, Ferdinand abrogated the constitution of 1812, and directed his course towards Madrid, which he entered on the 17th May. The people every where expressed their attachment to a prince, whose arrival they hailed as the return of justice and order; though it is foreign to our purpose to narrate why that hope has not been realized.

Great Britain was the power which acted the most conspicuous part during the era of which we have given the preceding historical sketch. The fortitude and perseverance with which she had prosecuted her system of policy, after the breaking of the peace of Amiens, was crowned with the most complete success; and the plan conceived by Mr. Pitt, but which that great statesman had despaired ever to see carried into execution, became the corner-stone of the future policy of Europe. Great Britain was the mainspring of the alliance, which in 1813 undertook the

deliverance of Europe. She made the most extraordinary efforts in raising armies, and granting supplies for maintaining the troops of the Continental nations.

A mental calamity, with which George III. had been afflicted towards the end of the year 1810, obliged the Parliament to establish a regency. That important charge belonged of right to the presumptive heir to the crown; but as the ministry were apprehensive that the Prince of Wales might in some respects change the system of the existing Government, the Parliament passed an Act (Dec. 31,) which restricted the authority of the Regent to one year. The Prince Regent submitted to these modifications. He exercised the regency at first with a limited power; but, after the year 1812, when the prospects of his Majesty's recovery were considerably diminished, he continued to exercise the Royal authority until his father's death, which happened January 29, 1820, when the Prince then assumed the title of George IV. The Regent found the kingdom at war with Russia and Sweden; but it was only in appearance, and without effective hostilities. Lord Castlereagh, who, since the year 1812, had been at the head of foreign affairs, listened with eagerness to the first advances which these two powers made towards a mutual accommodation. Peace was signed at Orebro (July 12,) first with Sweden, and a few days after with Russia. The former, in indirect terms, abandoned the principles of the armed neutrality of the North. We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to the stipulations of the treaty signed with Russia.

She was now assailed by a new enemy. A misunderstanding had existed for years, between Great Britain and the United States of America, in consequence of the various restrictions she had imposed upon the commerce of Neutrals, the humiliating conditions to which she wished to subject it, and the impressment of seamen. The Government of the United States had sought by various retaliatory measures, to operate upon her interests and induce her to abandon her system of arbitrary dominion over the great highway of nations. From 1806 to 1812 the pacific disposition of the American Government was manifested by the several expedients of *Non-Importation*, *Embargo*, and *Non-Intercourse*, to which they had resorted, to prevent an open rupture, but as none of these resulted in an acknowledgment of her rights on the part of Great Britain, an appeal was made at last to the *Ultima ratio Regum*. On the 18th of June, 1812, an Act of Congress was passed, declaring War against Great Britain; the reasons for this measure, as stated in the President's manifesto, were "The impressment of American seamen by the British, the blockade of her enemies' ports sup

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ported by no adequate force, in consequence of which the American commerce had been plundered in every sea, and the British Orders in Council."

The remoteness of the two contending nations from each other, rendered it impossible for them to bring together great armies to meet in a general conflict. On the one side, the Canadas were attacked by the Americans in many points with various success, and on the other, the cities and settlements along the coast of the Atlantic, were subjected to constant annoyance and depredation from the British maritime forces. In acts of hostility of this kind, and in naval combats, the war was continued for nearly three years, during which abundant proofs were given that the veteran forces of Great Britain could claim no other superiority, than that of experience, either in officers or soldiers, to her enemy. Many of the land, and all the sea battles were fought with great skill and bravery, and gallantry by the Americans. The last important occurrence of the war, was the battle of New Orleans, where the American forces, under the command of their heroic leader General Jackson, gained a brilliant victory.

The situation of Europe was now so entirely changed, that the grievances of which America had complained, and for the redress of which she had fought, must naturally cease, and as neither party deemed it expedient to continue the war for abstract rights, a peace was settled at Ghent, between the plenipotentiaries of the two nations, Dec. 24th, 1814, which restored friendship and amity, without settling any of the great points in dispute which had induced a resort to arms.

The financial system of Great Britain underwent an essential alteration, by the adoption of a plan presented by Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introducing certain modifications relative to the accumulation of the sinking fund. The expenditure of the government in 1815, amounted to 77,337,475*l.* sterling, of which Ireland cost 8,651,335*l.* sterling. The interest of the national debt amounted to 36,607,128*l.* sterling, of which 13,182,510*l.* were applied to the sinking fund. Great Britain paid to the States of the Continent, in 1813, 11,400,000*l.* sterling, under the name of subsidies; 24,107 ships, and 105,030 seamen, were employed in commerce. In 1814, these numbers were augmented one-seventh more. At this latter period, their navy consisted of 1044 ships of war, 100,000 sailors, and 32,600 marines; the land forces amounted to 302,490 men, including 63,000 militia.

Holland, and the other powers which had anciently formed the Republic of the United Provinces, after having been for

two years united to France, resumed once more their national independence. After the battle of Leipsic, when the corps of Generals Bulow and Winzingerode approached that country, the partisans of the Prince of Orange at the Hague, with M. de Hogendorps at their head, mounted the ancient cockade, established a provisional government (Nov. 17, 1813,) and invited the heir of the last Stadtholder to return and place himself at the head of the government. The French troops, finding themselves too weak to defend the country at once against the allies and against the inhabitants, quietly took their departure. The Prince of Orange having arrived at Amsterdam (Dec. 1,) was proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Low Countries; but he accepted that dignity, on the condition that his power should be limited by a constitution; a plan of which he caused to be drawn up, which was adopted and sworn to in an assembly of the Representatives.

During the sojourn of the allied sovereigns in England, it was agreed, that in order to oppose a barrier to France on the side of the North, Holland and Belgium should be united under the same government. A treaty, concluded at the same time in London (Aug. 13, 1814,) restored to the Dutch all their ancient colonies, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Essequibo, Berbice, and Demarara. According to the regulations of the treaty of Vienna, the bishopric of Liege, and the dutchy of Luxemburg were ceded to the sovereign prince, on condition that he should make a part of the Germanic Confederation. It was at this time that he received the title of King of the Netherlands. By the second treaty of Paris, this new kingdom obtained a slight increase of territory, and a sum of sixty millions of francs, for constructing a line of fortresses. The superficial extent of that kingdom, with the dutchy of Luxemburg, amounted to 1164 German square miles, with a population of 5,460,000 souls; besides the population of its colonies, amounting to 1,726,000 inhabitants.

Switzerland vainly flattered herself, when the allies approached the Rhine, about the end of 1813, that they would grant her the privilege of neutrality. The allied troops had to traverse the territory of the Confederacy, in order to enter France. The public opinion then declared itself, by annulling the Act of *Mediation* which united Switzerland to France; but this opinion was not unanimous as to the future constitution of the country. Of the thirteen ancient cantons, eight concluded a Confederation, on the principle which granted an equality of rights to every component part of the union; and to this the new cantons gave in their adherence. Berne, Friburg, and

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Underwalden, refused to take a part in it. The Grisons re-established their ancient form of government. The intervention of foreign powers quashed the civil war with which that country was threatened ; and, after many difficulties, a new Confederation of the nineteen cantons was signed at Zurich (Sept. 8, 1814.) There still remained, however, several litigated points to be decided, which were settled by the Congress of Vienna, who declared that the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland should be acknowledged by all the other powers ; and that the Valais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, should make a part of the Confederation, as three additional cantons. The Swiss States having acceded to this declaration (May 27, 1815,) it was renewed, confirmed, and sanctioned by the Allied Powers, in a second declaration signed at Paris (Nov. 20.)

In consequence of a convention concluded at Turin with Prince Borghese, Governor-General of the French provinces beyond the Alps, Field-Marshal Bellegarde had taken possession of Piedmont in the name of the King of Sardinia. Soon after, Victor Emanuel took the reins of government into his own hands. By the first peace of Paris, he recovered Nice, and about two-thirds of Savoy. A secret article of that treaty secured him the possession of the State of Genoa, which was confirmed by the treaty of Vienna ; but he ceded to the canton of Geneva, certain districts in Savoy. The second peace of Paris restored him that part of the province which had been given to France in 1814. The Sardinian monarchy thus comprehended an extent of 1277 German square miles, with 3,700,000 inhabitants.

The convention of Fontainebleau had disposed of the dutchies of Placentia, Parma and Guastalla, in favour of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and her son Napoleon. This disposition was keenly opposed at Vienna by the House of Bourbon, who espoused the interest of the young King of Etruria, the lawful heir to these estates. Nevertheless the Congress of Vienna adjudged the States of Parma to the Archduchess, without making mention of her son, or deciding the question as to their reversion ; a point which was not determined till the treaty of Paris of June 10, 1817, between Austria and Spain. After the death of the Archduchess, the States of Parma are to pass to the Queen-Dowager of Etruria and her son. They contain about 102 German square miles, and 380,000 inhabitants.

The Archduke Francis, the heir of Hercules III., the last Duke of Modena of the House of Esté, was restored to the dutchy of Modena and its appurtenances, about the beginning

of 1814. The whole comprehends a surface of 96 German square miles, with 388,000 inhabitants.

According to an article of the treaty of Vienna, Lucca, under the title of a duchy, was given up, not to the young King of Etruria, the lawful heir of the States of Parma, but to his mother, and her descendants in the male line. Besides, the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were bound to pay her a supplementary annuity of 500,000 francs until the death of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, when the Dutchess of Lucca, or her heirs, are to have the States of Parma; and the duchy of Lucca is to devolve to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on condition of ceding to the Duke of Modena certain districts contiguous to his estates. The duchy of Lucca is the most populous country in Europe. It contains about 137,500 inhabitants within 19½ German square miles.

The grand duchy of Tuscany, which Murat's troops had occupied about the beginning of the year 1814, was restored to its lawful sovereign, the Archduke Ferdinand III. (May 1,) who then gave up the Principality of Wurtzburg to the King of Bavaria. By the treaty of Vienna, that prince obtained the State of Presidi, part of the island of Elba, and the Imperial fiefs included in these States; containing 395 German square miles, with a population of 1,178,000 souls. The property of Piombino was restored to the family of Buoncompagni, whom Bonaparte had dispossessed. The Grand Duke is to succeed to the duchy of Lucca; but he must then give up his territories in Bohemia to his brother the Emperor, which are very considerable, and destined for the young Duke of Reichstadt, son of the Archduchess Maria Louisa.

Bonaparte having found it impossible to overcome the perseverance of Pius VII., had set him at liberty about the beginning of the year 1814. The Sovereign Pontiff returned to his Estates amidst the general acclamations of the people, and restored every thing to the footing in which they had been before the usurpation of the French. Nobody was molested on the score of his political conduct. The Order of the Jesuits, suppressed in 1772, was restored by a Bull, as a necessary barrier to oppose the doctrines of the Revolution. The Congress of Vienna restored to the Sovereign Pontiff the Marches and Legatines, with the exception of a portion of territory situated to the north of the Po, which was annexed to the kingdom of Venetian Lombardy. The Ecclesiastical States at present contain a surface of 714 German square miles, and a population of 2,424,150.

The extravagant conduct of Murat, promoted the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of Naples. This was effected

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by the expedition which Austria had despatched in 1815 against Murat, in consequence of the alliance offensive and defensive which that Court had concluded at Vienna with Ferdinand IV. (April 29, 1815,) who made his entry into Naples on the 17th June. A short time after, Murat, at the head of a small band of adventurers, thought of imitating the example of his brother-in-law. He landed at Pizzo, in Calabria (Oct. 9,) where he hoped to be welcomed by his former adherents; but the peasantry combined against him; he was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and shot (Oct. 10.) The kingdom of the Two Sicilies has an extent of 2,034 German square miles, and 6,600,000 inhabitants.

After Ferdinand IV. had retired into Sicily, that Island was put under the protection of the English, who had there an army of 15,000 men, with a considerable fleet. General Lord Bentinck, who commanded the English troops, used all his influence to introduce the British constitution into that island. The Queen, who was at the head of the opposite party, was obliged to leave her family. From that moment the English remained masters of Palermo. But after the first peace of Paris, Ferdinand IV. resumed the reins of government; and before embarking for Naples, he annulled the constitution of 1812.

Corfu, the only one of the Ionian islands which was not yet in the power of the English, was given up to them by the Convention of Paris (April 23, 1814.) The fate of these islands was decided by a treaty concluded at the same place between Austria and Great Britain, Prussia and Russia. They were combined into a free and independent State (Nov. 5,) under the name of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of Great Britain.

By the events of the years 1813 and 1814, the House of Austria gained possession of all that belonged to her in Italy, either before or in consequence of the peace of Campo Formio. A small portion of Ferrara to the north of the Po was ceded to her, as were the Valteline, Bormio, Chiavenna, and the ancient republic of Ragusa. The Emperor constituted all these possessions into a separate and particular State, under the title of the Kingdom of Venetian Lombardy. Independently of these, Austria recovered the Illyrian provinces, of which she also formed a distinct kingdom. By a treaty signed at Vienna with Russia, she likewise gained possession of the part of eastern Galicia which she had ceded to Alexander in 1809, and the exclusive property of Wieliczka, which was then divided between her and the duchy of Warsaw. The Austrian monarchy, in its present state, contains a surface of 12,000 German square miles, and a population of twenty-nine millions.

It was a more difficult matter to reorganize the monarchy of Prussia. We have mentioned the negotiations, in consequence of which she acquired about a half of the kingdom of Saxony. The Congress of Vienna restored to her not only a part of ancient Prussia, now called the Grand Duchy of Posenania, and all the other possessions which she had lost by the convention of Vienna, (Dec. 15, 1805,) and the peace of Tilsit (with the exception of Bialystock, Anspach, Baireuth, Westfriesland, and Hildesheim,) but also a considerable territory on the left bank of the Rhine, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Duchy of Westphalia, Swedish Pomerania, and the sovereignty of several other principalities and counties. These territorial arrangements were not concluded till 1819. The Prussian monarchy contains a surface of 4882 German square miles, and a population of nearly 11 millions.

The sovereign princes and free cities of Germany were united by an Act signed at Vienna, under the name of the Germanic Confederation. All the members of the Confederacy enjoy full sovereignty, and all take part in the deliberations of the Diet in matters relating to the general interests of the Union. The thirty-nine members, however, in ordinary cases, have only seventeen votes; eleven of the States have each a vote, while six collective votes belong to the other twenty-eight. Nevertheless, in constitutional questions, the thirty-nine members have in all seventy votes; each State having at least one, and several of them two, three, and four votes. The members have the right of concluding every kind of alliance, provided these are not directed against the safety of the Union or of its constituent members. The equality of civil and religious rights was secured to all who professed the Christian religion.

Various States, forming the Germanic Confederation, underwent certain changes in their territorial possessions; but the negotiations by which they were definitively settled did not take place till 1819. The kingdom of Bavaria received indemnity for the various restitutions which had been made to the Court of Vienna. Its superficial extent amounts to 1505 square miles, and 3,300,000 inhabitants. The grand duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt obtained considerable augmentations on the left bank of the Rhine, and has a surface of 214 German square miles, and six hundred thousand inhabitants. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg, the Duke of Saxe Cobourg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Homberg, and the House of Orange-Nassau, obtained territorial indemnities on the Rhine. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel obtained the grand duchy of Fulda; his dominions consisted of 200 German square miles, and 540,000 inhabitants. The King of

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Hanover lost Lauenburg, and obtained Hildesheim and Westfriesland. That kingdom contains 700 German square miles, and one million three hundred thousand inhabitants. The grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar, with its additional districts, contains 86 German square miles, and one hundred and ninety-three thousand inhabitants.

Such is the composition of the German Confederation, an association which was formed, as we have mentioned, by the act of June 8th 1815. In 1820, it was declared a fundamental law of the Union.

As Russia and Austria were not likely to come to an agreement, as to the possession of the city of Cracow, the former demanding it as an appurtenance of the ci-divant duchy of Warsaw, while the latter claimed it as having been deprived of it by the peace of Schoenbrunn; it was agreed by the treaty of Vienna (May 13, 1815,) that that city, with the territory which had been assigned it, should form an independent and neutral Republic, under the protection of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Besides the city of Cracow, a district containing eight or nine thousand inhabitants was dismembered from the duchy of Warsaw, which was conferred on Prussia, under the title of the Grand Duchy of Posnanian. The remainder was united to the Empire of Russia as a distinct State, under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, having its own constitution and a separate administration. That State contained 2215 German square miles, with a population of two millions and a half.

We have already observed, by what fatal mischance Denmark had been dragged into the war of Napoleon against the allies. The treaty of peace at Kiel, (Jan. 14, 1814,) deprived her of Norway, in lieu of which she obtained the paltry compensation of Swedish Pomerania; and even that acquisition proved nugatory. According to arrangements agreed on at Vienna with Prussia, the King of Denmark accepted the duchy of Lauenburg instead of Pomerania, which was abandoned to Prussia. The Danish monarchy thus lost one-third of its subjects, and was reduced to an extent, including Iceland, of 2420 German square miles, and 1,700,000 inhabitants.

The Norwegians, who cherished a national hatred against the Swedes, refused to submit to their destiny. They chose for their King Prince Christian Frederic, who was their Governor-General and heir to the throne of Denmark (May 17, 1814,) and they published a representative constitution at Eidsvold. The King, and the Prince Royal of Sweden, marched at the head of an army to reduce them to submission. After some hostile manoeuvres, the Prince of Denmark resigned the sovereignty, by a con-

vention which was signed at Moss (Aug. 16.) The National Assembly convened at Christiana (Oct. 20,) decreed the union of Norway to the crown of Sweden, as an independent kingdom, under one monarchy, and with a representative constitution. They adopted the order of succession as established in Sweden in 1809. Charles XIII. was proclaimed King of Norway (Nov. 4;) and the relations between Sweden and Norway were sealed, by an act signed between the two kingdoms (July 31, 1815.) By the treaty of Vienna, Sweden ceded to Prussia her part of Pomerania, and thus was separated from Germany, of which she had been a constituent member since the time of Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish monarchy contains an extent of 16,150 German square miles, with 3,330,000 inhabitants.

Russia acted so conspicuous a part during the period of which we have spoken, that we can scarcely mention any event of general interest in which she was not concerned. She was at war with Great Britain, Turkey, and Persia, when Bonaparte commenced hostilities against her in 1811. The Russians acted on the defensive against the Turks; Prince Kutusoff, who had the command, having been obliged to send five divisions of his army into Poland, caused Silistria to be demolished, preserving only Rudschuk on the right bank of the Danube. The indolent Jusuff Pacha, who had never stirred from his camp at Schumla was replaced by Achmet Aga, an active and enterprising General, who sent for a reinforcement of 35,000 men, mostly composed of excellent cavalry, and supported by a formidable artillery served by French officers. Achmet marched against Kutusoff and their first encounter took place two leagues from Rudschuk (July 4.) Eight thousand Russians, who were opposed to the vanguard of the Ottomans, under the command of Ali Pacha, were driven back to their entrenchments. Two days after the Grand Vizier attacked the Russian entrenchments and dislodged the troops, who threw themselves into Rudschuk. It was chiefly the infantry of the Russians who suffered in that battle, owing to the superiority of the Turkish cavalry, who would have cut them to pieces, but for a bold manœuvre of Count Langeron, who sallied from Rudschuk, at the head of the garrison, and protected the fugitives. The Grand Vizier advanced under the very cannon of the fortress. He attempted three times in one day to carry it by force, but was repulsed each time (July 9.) During the following night the Russians quitted Rudschuk and passed the Danube. But the Turks having got intelligence, entered the town, and prevented them from carrying off all their artillery and ammunition.

The army of Kutusoff, weakened by disease was unable to

prevent the Grand Vizier from taking possession of the islands of the Danube, where they constructed bridges, by means of which they made frequent incursions into Wallachia. A body of 15,000 troops, commanded by Ismael Bey, took up the same post on the right bank, so that the Grand Vizier passed the river at the head of the main body of the forces (Aug. 3.) But the face of affairs soon changed. General Ouwaroff having brought a reinforcement of 50,000 men to Kutusoff, the latter detached Markoff, with a considerable body, who passed to the right bank of the Danube, marched in all haste against the Turkish reserve before Rudschuk, seized their camp, and thus cut off the retreat of the Grand Vizier. The latter found means to enter Rudschuk in a small bark, leaving his army in Wallachia, under the command of Seraskier Tchaban-Oglou, who was blockaded at Slobosia by Kutusoff, and after being reduced to 25,000 men, they were obliged to capitulate and lay down their arms (Dec. 8.)

The Grand Vizier then demanded a suspension of arms, which was signed at Guirdesov. Negotiations were opened at Bucharest, but the Turks refused for a long time to make the smallest cession of territory. At length the mediation of England, Sweden, and Russia, overcame the obstinacy of the Divan, and peace was signed (May 28, 1812.) The Porte ceded to Russia about one-third of Moldavia, as far as the Pruth, the fortresses of Choczin and Bender, and the whole of Bessarabia, with Ismael and Kilia; an amnesty was granted to the Servians.

Although England had appeared at Bucharest as a mediating power, nevertheless her treaty of peace with Russia was not definitively signed, although actual hostilities had long ceased between the two powers. The treaty was at length concluded at Orebro (July 18,) the stipulations of which are not all known. The peace with Persia was signed in the Russian camp, near the river Seiva, under the mediation of England, and confirmed the following year at Teflis (Sept. 15, 1814.) Persia ceded to Russia Daghistan, Shirvan, Derbent, and in general the whole western coast of the Caspian Sea, renounced her pretensions on Georgia, Imirete, Guriel, and Mingrelia, and recognised the exclusive right of Russia to the navigation of the Caspian Sea.

At the Congress of Vienna the Emperor of Russia had obtained the kingdom of Poland, as we have already noticed. Independently of that acquisition, the Russian Empire had an extent of 345,000 German square miles, 80,000 of which are in Europe, the population of which amounts to thirty-eight millions. The population of the whole Empire is estimated at forty-six millions.

A concurrence of fortunate circumstances has saved the Otto-

man Empire from that ruin with which it has more than once been threatened, and for which the total dissolution of social order in the provinces has a long time prepared the way. If it still survives these evils, its preservation is perhaps to be ascribed to that Holy Alliance which has sometimes been the object of terror to the Porte, he having been persuaded that that Christian League was directed against Mahometanism. It is this suspicion, the offspring of ignorance and weakness, which at a recent date had nearly precipitated him into imprudent measures. If the wisdom of his powerful neighbour had known, in these circumstances, to unite his own glory with the maintenance of public tranquillity, of which Europe stands so much in need, the Porte, enlightened as to his true interest by Austria, Great Britain, and his other allies, will feel that he cannot prolong his own existence, except by substituting the reign of justice, and the principles of humanity, to despotism and cruelty.

CHAPTER XIII.

From the Second Restoration of the Bourbons, A. D. 1815, to the Revolution in Poland, A. D. 1830.

FRANCE had undergone a complete change since the Revolution, which the Bourbons, on their return could not understand. Their unfitness to reign over this people, was immediately perceived, and gave rise to a prevalent saying, that "the Bourbons, in their misfortunes, had learned nothing, and had forgotten nothing."

The open acknowledgment, made by Louis XVIII., that he owed his throne to the Prince Regent of England, was a dishonor, and a source of deep mortification, to the pride of France; and the country was farther humiliated, by the presence of the Allied troops, occupying two-thirds of its territory to enforce tranquillity.

By the treaty of Paris,* concluded November 20th, 1815, between Louis XVIII. and the three Allied powers, France was to pay 700 million francs, give up seventeen citadels for a period of three to five years, and support one hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops, within her territories; besides satisfying all public and private claims, to the countries belonging to the Allied sovereigns, and restoring the productions in the arts, and the treasures of literature, with which as spoils, Napoleon had enriched the capital. This last requisition was enforced, while the Allied troops were in possession of Paris.

Richlieu, the new minister, signed this treaty in September, 1815, which occasioned great dissatisfaction to the French nation. The King opened the new chamber, November, 4, 1816, with a speech which disclosed the unfavorable condition of France.

February 5, 1817. The liberals and independents obtained the law of election; and, on March 6, 1818, the recruiting law; but were not successful in their attacks on the laws of exception, which prevented the complete operation of the charter. The machinations of the ultras, led to troubles in Grenoble, in

* See pages 268 and 269, vol. II.

1816, and in Lyons 1817. July, 1818, their intrigues were discovered, which were nothing less than to engage the Allies to assist them in abolishing the charter. The ministry then inclined towards the liberals, and national party. A loan of 24 millions was required to effect the evacuation of the Allied troops stationed in France, in the autumn of 1818, which was determined upon by the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 9, 1818; and for the payment of foreign claims for the expenses of the war, and claims of individuals. Here was a successful exhibition of French diplomacy: in these settlements, in the matter of liquidations, the payment of the debt acknowledged by the treaty of 1815, reduced from 1600 to 1390 millions was postponed till the year 1818—when, in payment of these 1390 millions, a rent of 16,040,000 francs, equivalent to a capital of 275 million francs, was accepted. This was about a seventh part of the lawful claim; and a rent of three millions was granted, in a separate article, to satisfy the claims of British subjects. The remaining 280 millions were farther reduced at Aix-la-Chapelle, to 265 million francs.

November 12. France was admitted into the Quadruple alliance of the great European powers. The prime minister, Richelieu, declared himself against the existing mode of election, and against the operation of the constitutional system, which led to a division in the ministry, when in December, Decazes was victorious over the ultras, in the law of election, and liberal principles. A new ministry was named by Louis XVIII. the third since 1815. The Marquis Dessoles was made president of the ministerial council, which was overthrown, Nov. 19, 1819; Dessoles, St. Cyr and Louis, the defenders of the charter, resigned. Decazes now became prime minister. In the controversy respecting the construction of the charter and the censorship of the press, Benjamin Constant, Comte, and Dunoyer, were writers for the liberals; Chateaubriand, Bonald, and Fievey for the ultras.

The session from 1819 to 1820, was one of continued conflict of the most violent kind; the influence of the royalists succeeded in excluding Gregoire from the chamber: Decazes, president of the ministry, attempted to follow a moderate course, by several judicious bills. In the midst of these agitations, February 13, 1820, the Duke of Berry was assassinated. A new law of election, and two of exception were lost, and Decazes resigned. A fifth ministry, with Richelieu as president was formed, Feb. 20, 1820. The royalists gradually increased their power and influence, mainly indebted after 1822, to the talents of Villele.

Attempts were made for continuing restrictions of the press, till the close of the session of 1820, and to impose further restrictions, which met with decided opposition, and ended in the resignation of the ministry, December 17, 1821, when a sixth Ministry was formed in which ultra-royalism was triumphant. The censorship of the press ceased February 5, 1822.

A conspiracy in favor of young Napoleon, was discovered in 1821, and the following year several revolts were projected in different garrisons. Villele, minister of finance, displayed great adroitness in the management of affairs, and was appointed president of the ministry, having great influence over public opinion. The ultras were dissatisfied with his moderation; he is represented to have perfectly seen that France could no longer be governed by an absolute monarchy. The most important events of the session of 1822, were relative to the new tariff, and the foreign policy in regard to Greece and Spain. The liberal party were defeated on the great question, whether France should by force suppress democratic principles in Spain. On the 28th January, 1823, the King announced in the opening of the session, the march of an army of 100,000 French troops for Spain. This expedition evinced the determination of the fanatic party, to put down liberal principles, and restore Ferdinand to despotic power. In this attempt, they were but too successful.

A Loan of 100 millions was required for the extraordinary expenses of 1823. The Spanish campaign of six months tended to strengthen legitimacy, and cost France 207,827,000 francs.

In 1824, the estimate of expenditure amounted to 900 millions. This was owing to the payment by government of the clergy, now become dependent upon the state. The greatest efforts were now made by the ecclesiastics, to regain for the church its former splendor, in spite of the feelings and habits of the people. They wielded their immense power, in the most arbitrary and bigoted manner; but with all their zeal, were unable to check the diffusion of knowledge—and so far from retarding the march of liberty, they hastened the overthrow of despotism and bigotry, and eventually brought on their own downfall.

Louis XVIII. died September 16, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles X. We have now hastily sketched the events during the reign of Louis XVIII., enough to show the temper of the French people, and the obnoxious measures which tended to bring about a new revolution in France.

Charles X. commenced his reign by a declaration of his inten-

tions of confirming the charter. He appointed as a member of the ministerial council, the Duke d'Angouleme, and suppressed the censorship of the journals, Sept. 29. Appointed the Count de Clermont-Tonnere, minister of war. Villele gained the confidence of the King, by his prudent measures, while Chateaubriand proved, in the *Journal des Debats*, (his paper,) a powerful and eloquent opponent. In the session of 1825, Villele was triumphant: a bill granting 1,000,000,000 francs in rents, as an indemnification to the emigrants, proved a source of great dissatisfaction to the nation, which became opposed to the course now pursued. The civil list of the King was established at 25,000,000 francs, annually, for life, and that of the royal family at 7,000,000. On the 29th May, the splendid coronation of Charles X. took place at Rheims, at which time he took the oath to govern according to the *charter*. In the session of 1826, thirty-one new peers were created to strengthen the ministry.

In August, 1824, General Lafayette landed in New York, upon an invitation of James Monroe, President of the United States, and was received with the warmest expressions of gratitude, a nation could bestow; and passed through the twenty-four states of the union, with more than the splendor of a triumphal procession. He sailed hence, in the Brandywine, a United States ship, September 7, 1825, and arrived at Havre, where every demonstration of attachment and respect was shown him. The following particulars respecting the "Nation's Guest," on his return to France, in 1825, cannot fail to be interesting. It shows that the affectionate and enthusiastic welcome of him by his countrymen, on his return to France, and portrays the sullen hatred of the Bourbons to every thing that partook of liberty. At Rouen, the "Guest of the American people," the veteran defender of liberty in the two hemispheres, was honored with a public dinner, accompanied by his family and friends. In the evening, a great concourse of citizens, among whom were many females, repaired to the house of M. Cabanon, where Lafayette appeared on the balcony, and the greatest tranquillity reigned. Notwithstanding the crowd, a serenade, given to the General, was heard with perfect silence. At this juncture there arrived, from two opposite directions, a detachment of the guard royal, and a detachment of gendarmes. The former conducted itself with moderation; the latter proceeded to disperse the peaceable citizens, whose meeting had occasioned no disturbance, and made a charge upon the populace, treating them as rioters; when many were thrown down and murdered; and the whole assembly was put to flight, by the sabres and bayonets of the gendarmes; and by them many were arrested. To justify

this proceeding, the Prefect at Rouen issued, in a public journal, a note, in which he said, "That the citizens groaned to see the tranquillity menaced by the presence of a man whose sad celebrity connects itself with the most disastrous period of the Revolution!"

On the return of Lafayette to La Grange, the villagers united in a public festival on the occasion; and addressees were presented although the government took every opportunity to prevent any demonstration of respect being shown to him. Not less than 6,000 persons assembled on this joyous occasion, to commemorate the return of him, whom they designated the "American Nation's Guest."

The Jesuits commenced prosecutions against two of the liberal papers. This led to much hostility between the liberals and the royalists; and soon after, a law against the Jesuits was attempted to be passed, and the liberty of the press was carried, April 27, 1827. The national guards of Paris, 45,000 in number, were disbanded, a measure highly obnoxious to the people. This was followed by a rigorous censorship of the press, (June 24, 1827,) which tended still more to irritate the state of public feeling against the ministry. The papers of the opposition frequently appeared with whole columns blank.

A war commenced this year with Algiers, said to have arisen from a controversy respecting a debt for corn, purchased for the French government in 1739. The ministry dissolved the chamber which had still three years to run. In the new chamber, a majority was gained by the liberals; out of 8,000 votes in Paris, only 1114 were on the ministerial side; the same decided result took place in the different departments. This occasioned great joy in Paris, and led to some disasters: about fifty persons were killed by the gendarmes. By an ordinance of November 5, 1827, seventy-six new peers were created. Of these scarcely any, Soult excepted, were entitled by services, to the honor. Three others were added, Jan. 4, 1828—these were Villele, Peyronnet, and Corbiere.

On opening the session, February 5, 1828, Charles X. congratulated the nation on the occasion of the victory of Navarino. In 1828, the French troops returned from Spain; and in August, (shortly afterwards,) an expedition was fitted out for the delivery of Greece from Turkish thralldom. The command of the expedition was given to General Maison. The number of troops amounted to 14,000. (*See Revolution in Greece.*)

The appointments announced, August 9, 1829, were the following: Prince Jules de Polignac, minister of foreign affairs; M. Courvoisier, keeper of the seals, and minister of justice,

Count Bourmont, minister of war; Admiral Rigny, minister of marine; Count de la Bourdonnaye, minister of the interior; Baron de Montbel, minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction; Count Chabrol de Crousol, minister of finance. Admiral Rigny declined the offered port folio, which was given to M. d'Haussez, Prefect of the Gironde. This was an ultra-royalist ministry. Bourmont had been a soldier under Napoleon, declared for Louis XVIII.—again took office under Napoleon, and deserted him at the battle of Waterloo, fled to the Bourbons at Ghent, was elevated to the peerage, and entrusted with the command of the army of occupation in Spain, after the return of the Duke d'Angouleme.

Prince Polignac was one of the old royalists, and was early attached to Charles X. He, with his brothers Armand, was implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy, and received the pardon of Napoleon. Since 1823, he had been ambassador at the British court, and his elevation was said to have been through English influence, more especially that of the Duke of Wellington. He professed a great fondness for England; but however this may be, certain it is, he was no favorite with the French people. The minister of the interior, La Bourdonnaye, had distinguished himself for his violence, and active measures for the ultras. No sooner was the ministry formed, than La Bourdonnaye was disposed to dissolve the chamber, as Villele had done to secure a majority; trusting for success, to the activity of the royalists, and the aid of the clergy. When this hazardous proposition was rejected, La Bourdonnaye resigned, and Polignac was made president of the ministerial council. Baron Montbel was transferred to the department of the interior, and Count G. de Rainville was made minister of ecclesiastical affairs. An ordinance to this effect was issued on the 17th November, 1829. Such was the organization of the ministry at the end of that year.

The efforts of the Bourbons to build up aristocracy and absolute monarchy, had failed—their measures having had an opposite effect; and the poverty of the nobles having impaired their former influence, they now followed instead of leading the nation. The French were now too much enlightened to suffer themselves to be deprived of their privileges. The country was, at this time, in a state of prosperity. The struggle that followed, was for the protection of their liberties, and not the result of suffering and want. This noble regard for the cause of freedom, gave new glory to France, and to liberty, a fresh impulse throughout the world.

1830, March 2. The speech from the throne announced that

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war had been commenced with Algiers, and ended with these words: "Peers of France, deputies of the departments, I do not doubt your co-operation in the good I desire to do. You will repel, with contempt, the perfidious insinuations which malevolence is busy in propagating. If guilty intrigues should throw any obstacles in the way of my government, which I cannot and will not anticipate, I should find force to overcome them, in my resolution to preserve the public peace; in the confidence I have in the French nation, and in the love which they have always evinced for their kings."

As soon as this speech was made public, the funds fell, and the ministers had a decided majority opposed to them in the chamber of deputies. Royer-Collard was re-elected president. On the 18th, a deputation of the chamber presented an answer to the King's speech. This address respectfully but frankly informed him, "That a concurrence did not exist between the views of the government, and the wishes of the nation; that the administration was actuated by a distrust of the nation; and that the nation, on the other hand, was agitated with apprehensions, which would become fatal to its prosperity and repose." "Sire, (continued the address,) France does not wish for anarchy, any more than you wish for despotism." This was a firm and prudent warning here given to the King; who, in reply expressed his regret, that the concurrence which he had a right to expect from the deputies, did not exist. He declared his resolutions were fixed, and that the ministers would make known his intentions. The answer of the peers to the King's speech, on the 10th, was a mere echo of the same. Chateaubriand made a bold attack on the ministers. Both chambers were convoked for the 19th, when they were declared to be prorogued to the 1st of September of the same year—a measure that was immediately productive of great public excitement throughout France. Royalists and Jesuits blindly exulted in this measure; while the liberal journals increased their activity, and boldly predicted the course of events that speedily followed. Prince Polignac and the ministry were contemned for their imbecility. In Paris, a society furnished the printing of journals, where they were destitute through the efforts of the government; and in Brittany an association was formed, determined to refuse the payment of taxes, not regularly granted by the chamber of deputies.

But it is now time to turn to the war with Algiers, a city that had long been the seat of the most extensive piracy. The main object, however, of the ministry in prosecuting this war, was evidently popularity. Knowing the inordinate fondness of the nation for military glory, it was anticipated that the subjugation

of Algiers would establish Charles X. and his ministry in the affections of the people, and secure a favorable majority in the chamber. In this hope they were disappointed; for though the success of the army was announced during the election, it did not silence the opposition: a strong majority being elected.

The army, commanded by Count Bourmont, consisting of 37,577 infantry, and 4,000 horse, embarked on the 10th of May, at Toulon. The fleet consisted of 97 vessels, of which eleven were ships of the line, and 24 frigates. On the 14th of June, the army began to disembark at Sidi Ferrajh, on the African coast; and on the 5th of the following month, Algiers surrendered. This event was made known in Paris on the 9th of July, by a telegraphic despatch. The treasure found in Algiers amounted to 90,000,000* of francs in money, and 10,000,000† in gold and silver bullion and plate; besides about 25,000,000‡ not in the inventory, stated subsequently in the *Journal du Commerce*, to be 43,000,000 francs.

Having given very briefly the successful issue of the French arms, over barbarism in Africa, we now return to our narrative of the events in France.

The success attendant on the French arms in Africa, occasioned great exultation in France; but it did not divert the public from struggling for their liberty, against a detested ministry.

The chamber was dissolved on the 17th of May, by a royal ordinance, and new elections ordered; and the two chambers convoked for August 3d.

The elections for the new chamber took place in June and July. The opposition displayed great activity and talents, in this momentous struggle; and it was soon seen, by men of intelligence, that a change of ministry would be the result. They, however, were determined not to yield, and had the infatuation, rather to violate the charter, and expose France to civil war, than to retire. The King appears to have been blinded by a bigoted priesthood, and the ministers utterly regardless of the sacred rights of the people, expressed by their representatives. In the new chamber 270 were liberals, 145 for ministers, and 15 undecided. In consequence of this result, the ministry made a report to the King, July 26, on the dangers of a free press. In the chamber of deputies, convoked March 2d, there were 221 members hostile to government, on which account the King had prorogued both chambers, and had appointed the 23d of June, and third of July, for the election of new members, to assemble on the third of August. The elections were not all finished, till the 19th of July; before which time, it was sufficiently appa-

* \$16,655,000.

† \$1,874,100.

‡ \$6,058,630

rent, how the elections would terminate. When the list was completed, the opposition, was found to have increased from 221. to 270. It will now be seen, how affairs stood in France between the crown and the people: the ministry represented the former, and the chamber of deputies the latter. The ministers whose duty it was to have withdrawn, resolved upon the mad project of setting the voice of the nation, and the constitutional charter at defiance; in other words, of annulling the late elections. This plan seems to have been arranged about the middle of July. It was subsequently stated on the trial of ministers, that these measures were concerted between the 10th and 15th of that month. M. Montbel in a pamphlet which he has published, says the ordinances were presented to the King, in a council held on the 21st. They were signed at the next council held on Sunday the 25th, the day previous to their public appearance.

The report made to the King, signed by seven ministers and published at the same time with the ordinances, was intended to justify themselves for the course they had resolved upon. In this flimsy document they called for the suspension of the press, remarking, "At all epochs, the periodical press has only been, and from its nature must ever be, an instrument of disorder and sedition."

By the first ordinance, the liberty of the press was suspended. By the second ordinance the chamber of deputies was dissolved. And a third ordinance abrogated the existing law of election itself, reducing the number of members from 430 to 258, and sweeping off three-fourths of the former constituency, abolishing the ballot and nearly extinguishing the representative system. In defiance of these ordinances, the conductors of all the liberal journals determined to publish their papers.

The only papers allowed by government to appear were the *Moniteur Universel*, *Quotidienne*, *Gazette de France*, and *Drapeau blanc*. The seizure of the liberal journals on the morning of the 27th July, was the commencement of the revolutionary drama. These ordinances were nothing less than a determination on the part of the crown to deprive the nation of its liberty, and to establish despotism. The audacious attempt however failed. Had the French ministry succeeded in silencing the press, and bringing the representation to a state of subserviency, they might for a time perhaps have succeeded in their mad projects. Nothing shows more strikingly the rashness and entire want of discernment of the ministry, at the time of which we are speaking, than the issuing of ordinances so obnoxious, without even anticipating resistance of any kind, much less a revolution.

It was on Sunday, the 25th of July, the fatal ordinances were signed by Charles the Tenth and his ministers, and at 11 P. M. M. Sauvo, principal editor of the *Moniteur*, received from Chantelauze, and Montbel, at the house of the former, the manuscript for publication on the following morning. As Sauvo glanced over the contents, Montbel remarked, he seemed agitated; his reply was, "God save the King, God save France." M. Montbel and Chantelauze answered, "we hope he will." At an early hour on Monday morning the 26th, the obnoxious ordinances appeared in the *Moniteur*, and *Bulletin des Lois*. The prefect of the Seine was astounded at seeing them, about 5 o'clock, not having apprehended any thing of the kind, nor does Marshal Marmont, appear to have had any knowledge of these measures: the first intimation he received of the fatal ordinance was by Komierowski, one of his aids, while he was breakfasting at St. Cloud. He exclaimed that it was not possible the report could be true. At half past seven, he set out for Paris, not having seen a newspaper till his arrival in the city. He then went to the Institute where he met his friend M. Arago—"Well," said he to him, "you perceive that things are proceeding as I had foreseen; the fools have driven matters to extremities. You have only to mourn in your capacity of a citizen and a good Frenchman; but how much greater cause have I to lament, who as a soldier shall perhaps be obliged to throw away my life for acts which I abhor, and for people who seem for a long time to have studied only how to overwhelm me with disgust."

The ordinances spread but slowly in Paris, among the public: this however was owing to the *Moniteur* being principally read by those connected with government. For several hours no unusual excitement was manifested. That class who first felt its effects were the journalists. It has been stated, that at this period thirty thousand persons were engaged in printing in Paris. The effect of the ordinances was to throw them out of employment. The conductors of journals represented to their workmen, that they had no longer any employment for them, they must go and ask it at their good King. The journalists, on this emergency, displayed great courage: seeing the ordinances would be ruinous to their business, and destroy their rights, they fearlessly set them at defiance, by publishing second editions of their papers, the same afternoon, in order to make them more generally known. At five o'clock, the prefect of police, Mangin, issued injunctions to the printing offices, to stop any further publications, except in conformity to the new law; and caused a printed proclamation to be circulated and

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*Battle of Waterloo ; contest of the 4th Regiment
for the French Eagles. Vol. 2, p. 287.*



Battle of Waterloo. Vol. 2, p. 287.

posted on the walls with the penalties to the keepers of reading rooms, &c.

The journalists assembled and drew up in great haste an address to their countrymen; this was signed and published. It was a noble display of courage and patriotism: they stated, "as they were first called on to obey, so they ought to give the first example of resistance to authority, now that it had stripped itself of the character of law. This day, the government has violated all law, we are set free from obedience;" and declared their determination to publish their journals, regardless of the ordinances. "We will do our endeavors, that for one day more, at least, they may be circulated over all France. It belongs not to us to point out its duties to the chamber, which has been illegally dissolved. But we may supplicate it in the name of France, to take its stand on its manifest rights, and resist, as far as it shall have the power, the violation of the laws. Its rights are equally certain, with those on which we ourselves rest. The charter (article 50,) says the King may dissolve the chamber of deputies, but for that power to be exercised, the chamber must have met and been constituted—nay, must surely have done something to warrant its dissolution. Before the chamber has met and been constituted, there is no chamber to dissolve. There are only elections to annul: now no passage in the charter gives the King the right of doing this. The ordinances which have this day appeared, do only in fact annul the elections, and are therefore illegal; as doing that which the charter does not authorize.

"We assume the attitude of resistance in so far as we are ourselves concerned; it belongs to France to consider to what extent she will adopt the same course." This address was signed with the names of forty-four of the journalists.

In the mean time, the agitation had already begun in the streets; the crowd assembled at the Palais Royal, to hear the papers and news discussed, was continually increasing, till their increased numbers, and violence of language, alarmed the authorities, who sent a party of gendarmes to watch over them. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the crowd spread from the square of the palace, to the adjoining streets. They then began to assail the gendarmes, who kept their stations, making as yet no attempt to drive the people back.

About 8 o'clock, there was a great addition to the crowd about the Palais from the printing and manufacturing establishments. Their masters, in dismissing their hands, after their day's work, had notified them they should have no further employment for them. Here then was a great addition of men

under high excitement, determined upon resistance, which was now spoken of openly.

The fearless began to harangue the people, drawn together by sympathy, and each speech was received with loud cries of bravo, clapping of hands, and cries of "down with the ministers"—"The charter forever." The shops were now closed, and a sudden alarm spread through the throng.

The police and gendarmes advanced upon the crowd in the Palais, and succeeded for a moment in clearing it, without inflicting any wounds. The mob proceeded to the hotel of Prince Polignac, on the Boulevard des Capuchins, who was at this time at St. Cloud. On learning this fact, many went on purpose to intercept him; but mistaking his carriage, he was enabled to return without injury, under the escort of two gendarmes. The windows of his hotel were broken, and his carriage assailed with stones. As he entered the court, the mob threatened to return with reinforcements to set fire to his hotel. During the night, the lamps in several of the streets were demolished, and the lights extinguished, and the windows of some public buildings broken. All these acts sufficiently indicated the preparation for the morrow. This day the King had passed in the amusements of the chase at Rambouillet, and did not return till late to St. Cloud.

The whole effective military force stationed at Paris, the Sunday previous to the publication of the ordinances, was 11,550 men, 8 cannon, and 4 howitzers; 1850 men of this number, includes the guards and gendarmes daily stationed at the posts in the Capital, St. Cloud, and other places near. These were all seized and disarmed in detail. The disposable force, therefore, did not at most exceed 9,700 men, and of this number, but three regiments of guards, two of cavalry, and a few artillery, 4,200, were all that could be depended upon. There were besides, 1000 cavalry, and 300 infantry, belonging to St. Cloud, Versailles, and St. Germain, but these were never engaged. A staff officer of the guards, who was engaged during the conflict, stated if suitable precautions had been taken a fortnight previous, that it would have been easy to have assembled from thirty to forty thousand men, with fifty cannon, in Paris.

On the morning of the 27th (Tuesday) several of the journals were printed and distributed, so determined were the journalists to discharge their duty to the public. The *Constitutionnel* was prevented from the distribution of its papers by the police having stationed a sentinel at the door of the office. The *National*, the *Temps*, and the *Figaro*, were printed at an early hour and thrown from the windows among the people, an-

rapidly dispersed through the city. These papers contained the ordinances, and the noble protests of the journalists. The authorities commenced their operations against the printing offices that had set the ordinances at defiance, and part of their printing presses were taken away, so as to render them useless. The *National* distributed to the crowd 7,000 copies in less than an hour. Thus far the journalists had manfully discharged their duty. This day a considerable number of the newly elected members of the chamber of deputies assembled at 2 P. M. at the house of M. Casimir Perrier; when a protest was drawn up and signed.

The King this morning appointed Marshal Marmont, commander in chief of the forces in Paris. He immediately established his head quarters at the Tuileries. At half past four, an order was issued at the barracks for several regiments to march to different stations. One battalion of guards, and two pieces of artillery, were stationed on the Boulevard des Capucins, in front of Polignac's hotel, the interior of which was protected with soldiers of the 5th regiment of the line. A squadron of lancers protected this part of the Boulevard. Several battalions of the line occupied the portion of the Boulevards from the porte St. Martin towards the place de la Bastille, and also the place Vendome. Three battalions of the guard were placed in the Carrousel, and the place of the Palais Royal: and two battalions of the guards, with two cannon, were stationed in the place Louis XV.

While these dispositions of the troops were making, the streets were filled with the multitude, as yet unharmed: they now began to supply themselves with arms from the shops of gunsmiths; and were soon in actual conflict with the military.

The battalions of the regiments of the line, stationed in front of the Palais Royal, were received by the crowd with cries of, "the line forever, the line does not fire, the line is on our side." Both men and officers, were averse to firing upon the people. But the guards considered themselves obliged to remain faithful to the government. The mob had already begun in several instances to attack the soldiers with stones, and every kind of missile: these they carried to the upper stories, and roofs of houses, and hurled them on the soldiers beneath. They now began to barricade the streets, and thus sheltered, they were enabled to oppose the patrols.

This night the remaining lamps were demolished, a judicious precaution and not proceeding from mere wantonness; as it enabled them to erect barricades during the night, and rendered their operations more secure from the vigilance of the mili-

tary. Marshal Marmont had written to the King, informing him that public tranquillity was restored, and therefore made no preparations during the night, nor sent dispatches for more troops. He did not even guard the great depots of arms and ammunition.

During the night, the greatest activity prevailed on the part of the people. The inhabitants were enrolled into bands, and arrangements made for supplying them with muskets, ammunition, &c. The telegraphs had been rendered useless in the night;—this was an effectual means of preventing signals for further succors. Bands of men supplied themselves freely from the gunsmiths shops, and the arms used at the different theatres, and in fact, every kind of offensive weapon was seized and pressed into service.

Wednesday, 28th.—At an early hour, the throng assembled in the streets, and directed their march upon the Hotel de Ville, soon filling the square in front of that building. This morning the national guard appeared in their uniform, among the throng. Measures were soon taken to organize this favorite corps; a commission was nominated to proceed to Gen. Lafayette, and receive his orders. He did not however assume the command of the guards, till the morning of the 29th. The re-organization of the national guard went on promptly during the day; the number that appeared was considerable, mostly in uniform, and with them appeared the famous Tri-colored flag, so dear to the hearts of all Frenchmen. By nine o'clock it waved on the pinnacles of Notre Dame, and at eleven, it surmounted the central tower of the Hotel de Ville, which was taken possession of by the populace, and who immediately stationed themselves at the windows with fire-arms. The tocsin had been ringing from the bells of Notre Dame, and the church of St. Gervais, with all other means that could be devised, to give the greatest public excitement; and to fill the populace with courage, vehement speeches were made, and placards, with imprecations against the ministry, were stuck up in all the public thoroughfares.

At eight o'clock this morning, the different regiments left the barracks, and at nine took their stations at the following places: six battalions of French guards, about 1320 men, with three squadrons of lancers, of 100 men each, and 8 guns, were drawn up in the place du Carrousel. 500 cuirassiers were quartered in the barracks, near the Bastille, and were in communication with the 5th, 50th, and 53d regiments of the line, who occupied nearly the whole extent of the northern Boulevards and place Vendome.—The 15th light infantry, were ordered to the place de Greve, Pantheon, and Palais de Justice. The place de Greve

had, from an early hour, been filled with the armed populace; a detachment of soldiers no sooner arrived there, than, according to the testimony of Lieut. St. Germain, seven or eight hundred persons, most of whom bore fire-arms, rushed upon them, with a loud outcry, and fired a volley, by which two men were killed, and most of the detachment wounded, with the officer in command. The soldiers then fired, and several of the people fell. They immediately retreated, pursued by the crowd. At the place de Chatelet, which was also filled with people, a body of soldiers were drawn up in the order of battle: here the harassed detachment of Lieut. St. Germain, found a reinforcement in a platoon of grenadiers, a few shots from whom drove back the assailants. A heavy fire was now commenced upon the battalion, from the Pont au Change, from the adjoining quay, and from all the windows near. Many of the soldiers were wounded, and forced to retire to the other side of the river, and got to the Tuileries at three-quarters past 10, where some additional troops had arrived from St. Dennis, Vincennes, and Versailles.

It does not appear, that Marshal Marmont had formed any regular or effective plan of proceeding: the troops were marched and countermarched, about the streets and quays, assailed by every kind of missile, thrown from windows and the tops of houses: the time was lost, when any thing effective could be accomplished. The warfare had now become general, and the events are so confusedly related, that it is difficult to give to them a systematic arrangement. We shall therefore endeavor to describe the most prominent facts, as related by the different writers at this memorable epoch. Wherever the military took their stand, the increasing crowds that surrounded them, and the constant accession of arms, rendered the situation of the soldiers extremely galling; barricades were also thrown up on every side, which rendered their situation still more disheartening.

A column consisting of a battalion of guards, half a squadron of lancers, with two pieces of cannon, was sent to occupy the Hotel de Ville. Their force was joined by one of the battalions of the 15th regiment; this column then crossed the bridge, Pont Neuf, and advanced along the Quai de l'Horloge, &c., and prepared to recross the river to march upon the Hotel de Ville, by the Pont Notre Dame, a few hundred paces west of the Greve. The people now advanced in great force, and tolerable order, with drums beating, on the opposite end of the bridge, to oppose their passage. The two cannon were now planted on the centre of the bridge; a field officer of the guards here advanced and

warned the people of their danger, by pointing to the guns, and assured them they were marching to certain destruction. This had the effect of causing the people to withdraw; but while so doing, some shots were fired, and an adjutant killed. The cannon fired one shot each, and the column passed over and occupied the Quays de Greves and Pelletier on the north side of the river. In the mean time, a smaller force attempted to pass the new suspension bridge, directly opposite the Greve, where they were received with a galling fire, from the house-tops, windows, and quays along the Seine. The rest of the column coming up to their assistance, the place was taken. The guards had no sooner taken their position, than they learned with deep consternation that a battalion of the 15th light infantry stationed along the quays had revolted. The general in command of the guards was soon apprised of this, by the falling of his men. The Quai de Citi was filled with sharp shooters of the insurgents, who protected by the presence of the 15th regiment, kept up a continued fire upon the guards in the place.

By this time the 50th regiment, stationed in the morning at the Boulevards, and afterwards marched to the place de Greve, determined to lay down their arms: they wished to return to their barracks, but finding these were already in possession of the people, they joined 40 cuirassiers, then departing from the Bastille, for the Hotel de Ville. The latter had many difficulties to encounter, marching through back streets, and at length reached the Hotel, but the 50th regiment took no part in the fighting, by which the cuirassiers made their way. On their arrival at the Hotel de Ville, the officer commanding the guards was apprised that he could not depend on receiving the reinforcement from the Bastille, as he fully expected; and what rendered his situation more trying, his cartridges were now about spent. Two detachments were sent in quest of ammunition, but did not return. A message succeeded in gaining the Tuileries; this was by a party of cuirassiers; 200 Swiss were sent to the place de Greve; when they arrived there, the guards 220 strong, had been engaged five hours, and had forty men *hors de combat*, (about 5 o'clock,) and had gained an entrance, with a part of their forces, into the Hotel de Ville. The populace having now returned, the cavalry and artillery sheltered themselves in the stable yards from the severe fire, directed against them, from the opposite bank of the river. The 50th regiment was also protected in the inner court of the Hotel.

The hardest fighting yet, had been at the entry of Rue du Monton, a street that opens into the place de Greve, from the north. When the troops had established themselves in the place

de Greve, a severe fire was kept up against them from both angles of the street, and from behind a barricade there thrown up, but which was soon taken and retaken, on the arrival of the Swiss, during a movement ill executed; its loss led to the severest conflict of the day, from the determination of the soldiers to regain this post, in which they finally succeeded, and drove the popular forces away. The troops at length were withdrawn into the Hotel de Ville, except a detachment of light infantry, that held the barricade in the Rue du Mouton. The sharp-shooters of the guards, kept up a destructive fire from the windows of the Hotel, having now received a supply of cartridges from the regiments of the line, which refused to fire upon the people.

After the Hotel was taken possession of by the troops,* they kept it during the day's fight.

Wednesday was the usual day on which the King held a council; but the state of affairs in Paris, prevented the routine of business, and the ministers for safety, had taken up their quarters at the Tuileries.

The celebrated M. Arago, of the Academy of Sciences, who was on terms of great intimacy with Marmont, sought an interview: for this purpose, he exposed himself, in company with his son, to all risks, to gain the palace of the Tuileries. It was 2 o'clock, P. M. when he arrived, where he was ushered into the presence of Marmont, in a saloon looking towards the Carrousel. He found him with many officers, and other persons not in uniform. M. Arago, taking the Marshal aside, in a conversation insisted on the rights of resistance on the part of the people—that the ordinances should be immediately withdrawn—and the dismissal of the ministers, &c. During this discussion, an aid-de-camp brought intelligence that General Quinsenas could no longer maintain his position, which put an end to this interview. Immediately after, the arrival of several members of the chamber of deputies was announced; and these were introduced to the presence of the Marshal. These deputies were M. M. Lafitte, Casimir Perrier, General Gerard, Lobau, and Mauguin. They represented the dangers which threatened the throne; the convulsed and frightful state of the Capital; and demanded that the ministers should be dismissed, and the ordinances withdrawn, as the only means to stop the effusion of blood. The Marshal communicated the substance

* There appears to be some discrepancy in the statements of different writers about the taking and holding the Hotel; but the fact, as stated above, is established by the narration of the staff-officer and others, given during the trial of the ministers

of this message to the ministers. The reply of M. Polignac was, it was useless for him to see them. They immediately withdrew. Lafitte, the chief speaker, said, the question could only be decided by the chance of arms; and henceforward, the deputies determined to exert themselves in the revolutionary cause—seeing there was no hope of an accommodation.

In the conflict maintained this day, in the place de Greve, the populace displayed the utmost perseverance, and the most unshrinking courage. The rapidity and excellent judgment of their movements, the readiness to seize on every advantage to annoy the enemy, shows, they must have had leaders possessed of much practical military knowledge. Nor did they shrink from the sanguinary contest, where any thing could be gained by the sacrifice of life. It should be borne in mind, that this struggle was also carried on, under a most oppressive heat, Fahrenheit's thermometer ranging at 95°.

The iron suspension-bridge was the theatre of many daring feats of valor; and has since been called, in commemoration, the bridge of Arcole, (*le Pont d' Arcole.*)

The wounded, during the day, were carried in carts and litters, to the hospitals; and the dead to the Morgue, amidst the most respectful silence of the crowd.

The royal troops, though they were in possession of the Hotel de Ville, without any hopes of receiving further reinforcements, were now exceedingly anxious to quit it. They accordingly effected a retreat, during the stillness of the night, to the Tuileries. Of wounded men, they had between 50 and 60—though another statement makes the number much higher, these they carried with them. The people had generally left the streets and windows, during the night. The troops at length reached the Tuileries, without any obstruction except a barricade they had to take down, to get their cannon along: this made some noise, and occasioned some shots to be fired about them.

In the Boulevard St. Denis, a great crowd had assembled at an early hour, and among these was seen the uniform of the national guard. This crowd was not generally armed with muskets. About 8 o'clock, a detachment of cuirassiers made a charge upon the crowd, at full gallop. They were then engaged in tearing up the pavement, and carrying the stones to the top of the Port St. Denis. They stood firm, and with long poles threw the cuirassiers from their saddles at the first encounter, and seized their arms, suffering none to escape. With these new equipments, the offensive was now assumed by them. At 9, a guard of 20 soldiers of the line surrendered their arms;

the guard-house was demolished, and of the materials, a barricade was constructed across the Boulevard. A furious encounter took place with the guards, at the gate, where stones were hurled, and a brisk fire kept up.

The people now commenced erecting barricades on a great scale, along the Boulevard, at the suggestion of Ambrose Menoret, a carpenter: for this purpose, the fine trees, planted by Louis the Grand, were levelled by the axe. It was done with expedition and great science, under the direction of Menoret, who supplied them with tools from his shop. This was a most fortunate idea. These barriers were so numerous, as to be insurmountable, and cut off all communication with the troops. This line of barricades extended from the Rue du Temple, in the east, to the Rue de Richelieu, west. An eminent architect, Mr. Crecy, had a large quantity of timber, scaffold poles, pick-axes, crow-bars, &c. carried away; all these were afterwards returned with scrupulous exactness.

From a subsequent report, it appears that during the revolutionary struggle, 4055 barricades were thrown up, consisting of trees felled, carriages of every description overturned, and the pavements taken up. The number of paving stones torn up, for this purpose, were 3,125,000. The expense of paving the streets again, was 250,000 francs. Paris is paved with large square stones. The gutters are in the middle of the streets, and they flowed with blood during these sanguinary conflicts.

The immense importance of these numerous barricades, thrown up with such unparalleled rapidity, will be best illustrated by the following details. A strong column arrived at the Bastile, and began to fire upon the people; these discharges were kept up without intermission, and returned by the people, who were forced to retire; and were pursued by the troops, as far as the Rue de Reuilly, which meets the Rue du Faubourg, St. Antoine. Here the troops were again assailed with a sharp fire, and had several barricades to overcome. The column remained in the Rue Faubourg St. Antoine, till half past three, and when about to retire, were again assailed with firing, and missiles from the houses. On the return of this body of troops to the Bastile, the commander, M. St. Chamans, found he could not return by the northern Boulevards,* from the numerous bar-

* The total number of streets in Paris, exclusive of *Culs de Sac*, are 1142, mostly narrow. The 18 Boulevards are broad streets, planted on both sides with trees, and forming beautiful promenades. Those outside of the walls are called the exterior Boulevards. The interior Boulevards are divided into the old, or northern, and the new, or southern, and are of great length, with many streets running into them.—*Enc. Am. Vol. IX. p 524.* a work from which we have derived many important facts

ricades, that had risen as if by magic. The attempt to force a passage to the Hotel de Ville, by the Rue St. Antoine, also failed, from the same cause; while the troops were exposed to a heavy fire from all the windows, and their ammunition was now exhausted. Under all these dangers, M. St. Chamans returned as well as he could, with his column, over the bridge of Austerlitz, and by a circuitous way to the Tuileries, by the southern Boulevards. The column arrived at the place Louis XV. between 10 and 11 at night. After this, no more troops were seen in the place de la Bastille or neighborhood.

The 28th closed with the retirement of the royal forces from every position in which they had attempted to establish themselves during the day. During the night, the citizens did not cease from their exertions, but availed themselves of this respite, to complete the erection of barricades, in every part of the city. In this great work, all ranks of citizens, the aged and the young, were alike ardently employed. These barriers were erected at about forty or fifty paces asunder, breast high, and four or five feet in thickness, the work was carried on by torch light, the lamps having been broken. The dreadful tocsin continued ringing during the night. In the vicinity of the Louvre, and the Tuileries, a patrol of guards, continued to walk during the night, and fired upon all who came within reach of their muskets.

Thursday, 29th, the drums beat the reveille, and the hurrying crowds as they assembled, cried, "*To arms, to arms!*" Several distinguished military characters, were this day to act as leaders. Among them were Generals Gerard and Dubourg. The entire failure of the plans of Marmont had induced him to adopt this day a different mode of warfare. Instead of marching his troops through the streets to no purpose, he had sent for further reinforcements, and now intended to concentrate all his strength in the Tuileries, and keep up a communication with St. Cloud. The following places were in possession of the royal troops, this morning: the Tuileries, Carrousel and Garden, the Louvre, the Bank, and Palais Royal, place Vendome, the Champs Elysees, Rue St. Honore, and several streets.

There was an addition to the royal forces of 6,700 men, that had arrived since yesterday, so that the total number of the guards amounted to 11 battalions of infantry, and 13 squadrons of cavalry, in all 4,300 men. The eight battalions of the line, amounting to 2,400, were of no service to the royal cause—one battalion of guards occupied the military school. It will be seen that the military were this day to be put on the defensive: it remained therefore with the popular forces, to make the

attack, who were this day strengthened by the students of the celebrated Polytechnic school, about 60 of whom scaled the walls, and headed the civic columns by whom they were hailed with the greatest enthusiasm.

The bands from the Faubourgs had poured into the Rue St. Honore, by its eastern extremity, and a fierce and murderous warfare was carried on, and here, the Polytechnic scholars led the citizens to the charge. The battle began to rage fiercely at several points near Rue St. Honore.

But before any important engagement had occurred, to decide the fate of the day, the defection of troops occupying important stations, led to important results. About half past eleven, the troops of the line, at the place Vendome, and the Palais Bourbon, negotiated with the leaders of the populace, when new barriers rose in all directions round these stations. The 5th and 53d regiments of the line, stationed in the place Vendome, fraternized with the people: this ceremony was performed by taking off their bayonets, and shouldering their muskets, with the butts in the air. Marshal Marmont was immediately apprized of the defection of the troops, and sent a battalion of Swiss guards from the Louvre, to supply their posts. By some strange oversight, the battalion was withdrawn, that defended the whole position, the Colonnade and gallery of the Louvre. The populace soon found their way into the garden, called L'Enfant, in front of the Louvre, and there meeting with no obstacles, entered the lower windows, and glass doors, and took immediate possession of the interior of this noble pile.

From the windows of the inner court the Parisians fired upon the battalion beneath, and soon every window in the great gallery of paintings was filled, whence they fired on the troops in the place du Carrousel, and soon drove the Swiss guards away in great disorder. There were also two squadrons of lancers in the inclosure of the Tuileries, exposed to the fury of the populace. The Swiss rushed to the Triumphal Arch, and getting through it with great irregularity, threw themselves among the lancers. The egress from this railed space was blocked up by the latter, but through it the troops escaped as soon as possible. It is said, two platoons of firm soldiers might have driven the popular forces away, who were not numerous at this time. It was at this spot (the Triumphal Arch) that Marshal Marmont had established his head quarters; and so unexpected was the attack that he retreated precipitately, leaving behind him 120,000 francs (5,000*l.*) in bags. His retreat was by the Rue de Revoli, and thence round into the garden of the Tuileries. From the

race, two cannon shot were fired on the Parisians. The Swiss formed again, but only to retire immediately, by order of the Marshal, upon St. Cloud. Thus terminated the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries.

In this attack on the Louvre, the strongest column was commanded by General Gerard; while the pupils of the Polytechnic school served under him, advancing at the head of their respective companies. It was one of these youths that led the attack on one of its gates and drove it in, when the forces rushed impetuously on the guards. Many interesting facts are related, showing the courage and noble bearing of these youths, whose services were so conspicuous during the revolution. It was about 1 o'clock when the Tuileries were captured. In the famous gallery of the Louvre, the splendid coronation picture of Charles X. with another painting, was instantly destroyed. The rest of this precious collection of paintings was left untouched. This fact reflects the highest honor on the Parisian multitude. No sooner was the palace of the Tuileries in possession of the populace, than every thing relating to the Bourbons met with immediate destruction. A splendid painting of the Duke of Ragusa, (Marmont,) was torn into a thousand pieces, and every bust and painting of the royal family destroyed with the exception of a bust of Louis XVIII., to whom France was indebted for the charter. Upon the whole, the populace, even to the poorest of the working classes, displayed a remarkable degree of forbearance from pillage when in possession of the riches of the royal palace.

The Swiss barracks, in the Rue Babylone, had been taken possession of before the capture of the Tuileries. Finding this place defended with great obstinacy, it was set on fire with straw and turpentine. Major Dufay, the commander of these quarters, was killed; when the flames and smoke forced the soldiers to make a desperate sortie, when great numbers fell. Major Dufay was an officer of great distinction, and had served under Napoleon in his celebrated campaigns.

The archbishop's palace, in the Ile de la Cite, was assailed under the command of several Polytechnic scholars. Finding there, unexpectedly, ammunition and newly sharpened poinards, the multitude were so exasperated that the work of destruction immediately commenced. Costly articles of furniture and books in gorgeous bindings were torn to pieces, scattered, and thrown from the windows into the river.

A sanguinary combat was kept up in Rue St. Honore with the Swiss, after the Louvre and Tuileries were taken. This incensed the people greatly—the soldiers almost to a man pe-



*Street fighting before the Church of St. Roch,
July 28th, 1830.*



Place du Chatelet, July 28, 1830. Vol. 2, p. 31.

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rushed—the carnage there was horrible, about nine hundred dead bodies being found. About half past 3, P. M. the last of the military posts in the city of Paris surrendered.

The royal troops retreated towards St. Cloud, not without meeting with obstructions on the way, and being somewhat harassed. The bridge at Neuilly had been blocked up with heavy carts and wagons at the suggestion of Lafayette; and the people still continued to fire upon the exhausted and dispirited soldiers. Thus ended the three days' hard conflict, in which the citizens of Paris had fought and bled, and at last achieved a glorious victory.

The number of citizens killed and wounded in these three days' fight, has been variously stated. From the report of the committee of national rewards, appointed to investigate the claims of the wounded and of the relatives of the slain, it appears that the number of killed and those who died from wounds, was 788; and of wounded about 4,500.

On the 31st of July, the deputies published a proclamation, declaring that they had invited the Duke of Orleans to become Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. At noon on the same day, Louis Phillippe d'Orleans issued a proclamation declaring that he hastened to Paris, wearing the "glorious colors" of France, to accept the invitation of the assembled deputies—to become Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. A proclamation of the same date appointed provisional commissaries for the different departments of government: these were, M. Dupont de l'Eure, for the department of justice; Baron Louis, of finance; General Gerard, of war; de Rigny, of marine; M. Bignon, of foreign affairs; M. Guizot, of public instruction; M. Casimir Perrier, of the interior and public works.

The same day, (31st,) Charles X. and his household fled from St. Cloud to Rambouillet. Three commissioners were sent to treat with him: these were, Messrs. De Schonen, Marshal Maison, and O'Dillon Barrett. The national guard advanced towards Rambouillet, which brought about a speedy delivery of the crown jewels from Charles X. and hastened his departure. August 2d, the abdication of Charles X. and the Dauphin, Louis Antoine, was put into the hands of the Duke of Orleans; and a letter from Charles, appointing the Duke regent, and ordering him to proclaim the Duke of Bordeaux King, with the title of Henry V.

The chamber of deputies met on the 3d of August. On the 6th, the throne of France was declared vacant by the chamber of deputies (*de jure et de facto*.) On the 7th, some changes in the charter were adopted, when by vote the Duke of Orleans

was invited to become King of the French, on condition of his accepting the changes made in the constitution. The votes were 219 in favor, 33 against: the whole number of deputies is 430.

On the 8th, the chamber in a body went to the Duke of Orleans and offered him the crown, which he accepted; and on the 9th, Louis Phillippe took the oath to support the new charter. In these measures, a majority of the chamber of peers present, concurred. On the 12th of August, the *Moniteur* announced the names of the new ministry, from the moderate liberal party, as follows: Count de Mole, foreign affairs; General Gerard, war; Baron Louis, finance; Guizot, interior; Gen. Sebastiani, marine; Dupont de l'Eure, keeper of the seals and minister of justice; Duke de Broglie, president of the ministry. Lafitte and Casimir Perrier were also appointed ministers of state, without any special departments.

Charles X. was permitted to retreat unmolested from France. He, with his household, took passage in two American ships for England, where he was received merely as a private individual, and took up his residence at Holyrood-House, Edinburgh, where he had formerly resided during the sway of Napoleon.

Many changes were made in the officers of the French government, in accordance with the spirit of the times and for the better establishment of harmony in the government. Out of 86 prefects, 76 were removed; and of sub-prefects, 196 out of 277. In the army, 65 general officers out of 75 were changed, 65 colonels removed, and almost all the governors of fortresses. 74 procureurs were dismissed. Special missions were sent to the different courts of Europe, which were well received by all of them except Russia. The greatest activity was exerted in the army to put it on a footing to meet any invasion, and the organization of the national guard was provided for. Of the late ministry, Polignac, Chantelauze, and Guernon de Ranville, underwent a trial and were declared guilty of treason and sentenced to imprisonment for life, with the penalty of civil death to Polignac. He and his colleagues were transferred to the prison at Ham.

Nov. 3d, the ministry was changed, and Lafitte advanced to the presidency of the council and minister of finance. March the 14th, Casimir Perrier succeeded him in office. On the 18th of October, 1831, a bill passed the chamber of deputies for abolishing the hereditary rights of the French peerage: to ensure its passage in the chamber of peers, Louis Phillippe created thirty-six new peers.

Revolution in Belgium.

THE Belgians soon followed the example of the French, in the career of revolution, by rising and expelling a king that had been forced upon them against their wishes. The congress of Vienna, it will be recollected, in 1814 and 1815, severed the Netherlands from France, with which it had been incorporated since 1795, and constituted it with the United Provinces, into one political body, under William, Prince of Orange, having the title of King of the Netherlands. This was done with a view of giving to Germany greater security against the power of France. The consent of the Southern Netherlands was never asked or given; it was disposed of by the great powers as a conquered province or district. William attempted to unite two million of Dutch Calvinists, engaged principally in commerce, with four millions of Belgian Catholics, employed in agriculture and manufactures—whose interests, language, and manners, were widely opposed to the Dutch, and whose language was disagreeable to the Belgians, who have much the habits and feelings of Frenchmen, and who are also greatly influenced by a priesthood decidedly hostile to all innovations, more especially when coming from the Dutch; so that the attempt to blend these discordant feelings and conflicting interests entirely failed. And the policy of William's government was by no means calculated to conciliate the proud and rich Belgians, whom he treated more as vassals than subjects. The Belgians had many just causes of complaint against the arbitrary measures of William's government; they were burdened with heavy taxes, and the education of their children was taken out of the hands of the natives. This state of dissatisfaction led to several demands contained in an address for this purpose; the grievances enumerated were fifteen. They demanded an equitable division of public offices between the two countries. Liberty of language, instruction, and the press, and the responsibility of ministers. After various struggles, an insurrection at Brussels broke out in August, 1830, and the Belgians made a formal declaration of their independence on the 4th October, 1830.

The representatives of the European powers, viz: Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, assembled at London, and there agreed to a protocol in favor of an armistice, and directed that hostilities should cease between the Dutch and Belgians. The acknowledgment of the independence of Belgium was announced December 27th, 1830, to the national con

gress at Brussels, the Belgians having decided upon a constitutional monarchy February 3d, 1831—the Duke of Nemours, the second son of Louis Phillippe, king of France, was elected to fill the throne. On the 17th, the King of France declined the proffered throne on behalf of his son. February 24th, M Sulet de Chokier was elected regent of Belgium. January 4th, the Belgium congress elected Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg for their king, by a vote of 152 to 34, which was sanctioned by the five great powers. The new king made his entrance into Brussels July 21st, and took the oath to support the constitution. September 8th, Leopold, king of Belgium, opened his first parliament. November 1st, the chamber of representatives of Belgium agreed to the terms of settlement between Belgium and Holland, prescribed by the London conference, and on the 3d, the senate agreed to the same by a vote of 35 to 8.

Revolution in Poland.

THE spirit of Poland has never been crushed. The sword of Suvaroff and the snows of Siberia had diminished the number of her brave sons, but they who clung to the soil of their country and they who devoted their lives to the service of foreigners alike breathed vengeance on their oppressors and ardent aspirations for the restoration of Poland. They expected much from Napoleon—they spent their best blood in his service, and spent it in vain. Napoleon rejected the opportunity of creating a barrier nation, a camp of devoted soldiers, which would forever have secured his empire on its weakest side. Still the Poles did not despair. The moderation of Alexander made their servitude more endurable; but no sooner had Nicholas ascended the throne of Russia, and sanctioned the barbarities of his brutal brother, Constantine, than the old spirit revived, if indeed that spirit had ever slept. The successful example of France, followed by Belgium and Brunswick, roused them to action and inspired them with the liveliest hopes. The day of vengeance and liberation seemed to have arrived. France well knew that Poland alone stood between her and the already advancing legions of Russia, and her emissaries offered every encouragement to the patriot Poles. Lashed to fury by her own wrongs, listening to the voice of hope, and encouraged by promises of support, Poland stood in the gap, encountered the first onset, and bore up against it manfully and well. But every

victory weakened her strength—the delusive hope of assistance vanished, and Poland has sunk in iron-bound despair. How will France, saved perhaps by the sacrifice of Poland, answer to man and to God for her ingratitude and perfidy !

It was on the 29th of November, 1830, that the insurrection at Warsaw burst forth. Secret societies had existed in that city since 1818, for the express purpose of securing the liberty and nationality of Poland. It was a noble design of her patriots to unite again under one government those portions of their unhappy country which had been torn assunder and despoiled by the rapacity of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

As early as 1821, Russia had commenced a system of proscription against these secret societies ; and in 1825, a conspiracy was kindled into flame at Petersburg, which it was thought could be traced to Warsaw. The societies had members throughout Poland and Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia, and even the old provinces of the Ukraine, which it might be supposed had long since lost all recollections of Polish glory. These associations were formed during the reign of the Emperor Alexander, to whom some of the patriots had vainly looked for a better state of things. After the death of Alexander, his successor, Nicholas, was crowned King of Poland at Warsaw, May, 1829.

The diet assembled in 1830, and in spite of all the endeavors of the Emperor, many patriots were elected. Nicholas opened this assembly in person, but failed to overawe the liberals from impeaching ministers for violating the charter. This liberal diet was closed June 28th.* Such freedom of discussion could not be endured by a despotic monarch, whose unvarying aim has been to tread out every spark of liberty in the northern parts of Europe. The Arch-Duke Constantine was made viceroy of Poland, and by his monstrous atrocities became universally detested by the brave and generous Poles.

The ardent hopes and wishes of the Polish patriots at length burst forth into flame. At 7 in the evening, the hour agreed upon, fifteen intrepid youths sallied forth determined to seize on Constantine, whose residence was about two miles from Warsaw. They rushed into the palace of the Belvider, where the usual guard consists of sixty men, first wounding the director of police, who fled. They next killed General Gendre, a Rus-

* The constitution of Poland, issued by Alexander, Emperor of Russia, in 1815, contained many important provisions. The diet, composed of two houses, was to be assembled once every two years ; yet in violation of this provision, none was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one under the Emperor Nicholas.

man infamous for his crimes. The struggle alarmed Constantine, who instantly rose from his bed and escaped undressed by a secret door, that was closed after him by his valet just as they were on the point of reaching him, and had supposed themselves secure of their victim. Constantine instantly fled to his guards. Thus disappointed, this band retired to their companions in arms, who awaited, at the bridge of Sobieski, the result of this movement. In returning to the city they had to pass the barracks where the guards, though already mounted, were unable to attack them on account of a precautionary measure of Constantine in surrounding the barracks with a deep and wide ditch, passed only by narrow bridges. The guards fired upon the insurgents; but the latter were so advantageously situated, and returned the fire so well, that they killed three hundred of the guards, and retreated with the loss of only one of their number.

By this time the streets of Warsaw were filled, some houses had been set on fire, and the cry resounded "To arms, to arms, Poland is up, God for our country!" The inhabitants rushed to arms. The state prisoners were liberated; the students of the university and the school of engineers joined the insurrection; the arsenal was forced, and in an hour and a half from the first cry of liberty, 40,000 men were in arms. Soon the fourth Polish regiment joined the populace, and presently the rest of the Polish soldiers. When Constantine heard of this, he fell back with two Polish regiments of guards, and was permitted to retire by the magnanimous Poles unmolested to the frontier. Chlopicki was appointed general in chief, and four days afterwards declared dictator by the provisional government. Although a soldier of undisputed bravery, he has been blamed for suffering the grand duke to escape when he might have captured him, and for losing time in trying to negotiate with the Emperor Nicholas.

The diet that assembled in twenty days after the breaking out of the revolt, confirmed Chlopicki dictator; but on his refusing assent to the manifesto of January 9th, 1831, in which the wrongs of Poland were so feelingly portrayed, he was deposed. Instantly a supreme national council was formed, and Prince Adam Czartoryski appointed president, when a spirited proclamation was issued, informing the Polish soldiers that Chlopicki had resigned the glorious task of conducting them to combat.

It was unfortunate for the cause of Poland that Chlopicki was made dictator. He issued an order, "that whoever should cross the frontiers of the kingdom, and attempt to raise the old provinces, should be punished with death." Such an order might

have been issued in respect to Prussian and Austrian Poland; but not to those provinces that had risen to shake off the Russian yoke, and Lithuania, where the revolt had begun, and where thousands impatiently waited the signal from old Poland, to rise and join the struggle for liberty. This order of Chlopicki was regarded by the patriots, not only as a severe check to the enthusiasm of those provinces waiting to rise on the signal being given, but as almost traitorous to their cause. That time was lost in fruitless negotiation that should have been devoted to kindling, far and wide, the spirit of revolt; and in the most active preparation to meet the vast resources of Russia, which had refused all terms but absolute submission; and the preparations in the army were strangely neglected. These proceedings at length caused so much dissatisfaction against Chlopicki, as to lead to his dismission.

After two months delay the inevitable conflict began; when the Poles marched into the field, "with half the force which under an energetic administration it would have wielded." They ought to have been ready to have commenced offensive operations with their enemy at a distance, instead of waiting for him on their own soil, exposed to his insults and outrages. Russia had now brought into the field against Poland 200,000 men, while Poland had but about 50,000 equipped for the fight—a fearful disparity in numbers. Through the influence of the aristocracy, the command of the army was given to Prince Radzvil.

The Russian invading army rendezvoused, on the 20th of January, at various points of the western frontier of the empire. It was composed, according to the report of Field Marshal Diebitsch, of 105 battalions of infantry, 135 squadrons of cavalry, with 396 pieces of artillery, and 11 regiments of Cossacks. The army crossed the Polish frontiers on the 5th of February. The advance of the Polish army was at Biala, the right near the high road to Warsaw, the left at Lomeza on the Narew. On the advance of the Russians, the Polish corps fell back, the right on Warsaw, and the left on Modlin and Pultusk. On the 18th of February, the Russian head-quarters were established at Minsk, ten miles from Warsaw, and their advance pushed to Melisna, within five miles of that city. The Russian left rested on the Vistula above Warsaw, and the right on the Bug near its junction with the Narew, its centre protected with woods and artillery.

On the 18th, the Polish army of 50,000 men had its right on Grokow, with Praga in the rear, and the left thrown back opposite the right wing of the enemy.

The reconnoissances of the 19th and 20th, were resisted by the Poles and led to a severe battle. According to the Russian account, the heat of the battle was during the early part of the day confined to the left, Count Pahlen's advanced guard, which was attacked as soon as it had cleared the defile near Grokow, and compelled to retreat two miles. The advanced guard, under General Rosen, was attacked at the same time, advancing from Okanief. On the arrival of Diebitsch, he sent a reinforcement under General Toll, with several battalions and 20 cannon, to the relief of Count Pahlen. A furious charge was now made by the Russians, with Diebitsch in person, which changed the fortune of the day, and at 4 o'clock the Russian wings united, when the Poles were driven from the field of battle. For three days after this action the Russians made no onward movement, but asked an armistice for the burial of the dead, which was granted.

Early on the 25th, the Russians having received a reinforcement of 25,000 men, felt prepared for action. They drew forth their whole army in front of the forest, and commenced an attack on the Polish left wing, near Jublonna. General Uminski received this attack with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy, taking six cannon, which he spiked, and drove the Russians to the forest. He then attacked the Russian centre with dreadful slaughter, and drove them from their position. Diebitsch had calculated, with the great strength of his left wing, to crush the Polish right, situated near Grokow, under the command of Chlopicki and Skrzynecki. The Russians made six tremendous charges, and were as often repulsed with great loss; a seventh charge made against a new regiment, put it in disorder, and caused it partially to retreat. Two regiments of cuirassiers were then sent against the faltering regiments: the latter being aided with the Polish lancers, rallied, rushed on the regiments of cuirassiers, and cut them to pieces, of which only forty escaped, twenty prisoners only being taken, mostly officers, and among them the commander of one of these regiments. This affair decided the day, when the Russians were obliged to withdraw from the field of battle into their strong holds in the forest of Milosna. This battle was fought with great fury. General Chlopicki, who was in the centre, had two horses killed under him, and was wounded. Forty thousand Poles here withstood the shock of one hundred and fifty thousand of their enemy; and at the close of the battle, nearly 15,000 Russians lay weltering on the plain, and several thousand prisoners were taken.

After the battle, Prince Radzvil gave up the command of the

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army; when Skrzynecki, who had displayed extraordinary bravery and skill, was chosen commander in chief. But this step led to the rankling enmity of Krukowiecki, the second in command to Chlopicki, who thenceforward meditated revenge, plotted, and afterwards proved a traitor to his country.

The first step of Skrzynecki was to attempt to negotiate with Diebitsch. When he found his advances repelled, he prepared for the unequal struggle.

The ice in the Vistula had now broken up, and the swamps were filled from the melting of the snow, and the roads were almost impassable for artillery and cavalry. Skrzynecki now determined to act on the offensive. On learning that Diebitsch had divided his forces, he led the Polish army of 25,000 men to Praga, and on the 31st, favored by the darkness of the night, approached the Russian camp, and fell upon the advanced guard of General Geismar, at Wawar, consisting of 8,000 men, intrenched in a very strong position, which force he nearly destroyed, capturing 4,000 prisoners, and taking a number of cannon. General Uminski had previously been despatched towards Ostrolenka, to keep in check the corps of General Sacken and the guards who were advancing there. While the Polish advanced guard was engaged in combat at Wawar, General Rybinski, with his division, attacked the enemy's right, and carried it by the point of the bayonet; destroyed one entire regiment, and forced another to lay down their arms. The combat lasted two hours. Colonel Romarino's brigade here also distinguished itself. Skrzynecki next fell upon the corps of General Rosen, posted at Dembe Wielski with 20,000 men, who were unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Poles. The Russians fled by way of Minsk, and made several efforts to sustain their positions as they received reinforcements, but were unable to sustain them. It was at 5 o'clock, P. M. when they arrived at Dembe Wielski, a position strongly fortified, and the resistance was obstinate. But the force of the artillery from the centre, and the vigor of the assault, completely routed the Russians, who fled with precipitation.

By this masterly movement of the Polish commander in chief, 20,000 Russians were thrown hors-de-combat, and many superior officers were captured during this day, so glorious to the Polish arms, besides taking two standards, fifteen wagons filled with ammunition, some thousand muskets, and fifteen pieces of cannon. This victory occasioned but small loss to the Poles, owing to the rapidity and surprise with which their movements were executed. The regiment of scythemen (*leucheurs*) having demanded arms, the muskets left on the field of battle were

assigned them. The combat lasted till 10 at night. The army had then been actively engaged, fighting and marching, twenty hours.

On the 9th, the Polish army gained a considerable victory, taking several cannon, and from 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners; among them were 300 officers of different ranks. The headquarters on the 10th were at Seidlec; and on the same day, at that place, Marshal Diebitsch succeeded in uniting all his forces. From this time the Polish cause appears to have declined.

General Dwernecki with a valiant corps entered Volhynia, surrounded by Russian corps under Generals De Witt, Keuts, and Rudiger. Dwernecki passed the Bug on the 10th, and on the 11th routed some Russian forces, took a number of prisoners, some transports, and baggage. The left wing of the Russian army, stationed at Kock, upon Veprez and Rudjew, fell back, and Marshal Diebitsch, baffled in his attempts, retired with the army across the river Bug, alarmed for his safety. Insurrections spread in his rear, in the provinces of Lithuania and Volhynia. A violent insurrection broke out at Wilna on the 28th of March.

General Chrzanowski, with 8,000 men, cut his way through the Russians, and penetrated as far as the fortress of Zamosc. The greatest enthusiasm now spread through the Polish province of Samogitia. This expedition of Chrzanowski, by forcing his way through the enemy's detachments, was one of great daring. In three days he defeated the Russians three times, and took 800 prisoners. These movements in Volhynia occasioned great uneasiness to the Russians, and obliged them to change their plan—that of attempting Warsaw in front by Praga. On the last days of April, Diebitsch retired with the Russian army beyond the river Bug. The barbarities of the Russians during this warfare against the patriots in Lithuania, were of the most revolting kind.

April 26th, General Dwernecki surrendered his force, consisting of 4,000 men and 17 pieces of cannon, to the Austrians. He had been pursued by a superior force, and was under the necessity of passing into the Austrian dominions. Diebitsch, with the principal Russian army, retreated in the direction of the Bug and Narew, to gain the Prussian frontier, to relieve the suffering state of the army. At Thorn there was a great supply of provisions, ammunition, &c., waiting his approach.

The Polish government issued a manifesto against Prussia for her shameful violation of the principle of non-interference. This conduct of Prussia destroyed all the advantages gained by

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Polish valor. The Prussians furnished supplies of every kind, and constructed bridges over the Vistula for the passage of the Russian army. In many instances when the Russian troops were forced by the Polish soldiers into the Prussian dominions, they were suffered to return with their arms, while the Poles in all similar cases were retained prisoners.

The conduct too of Austria was most outrageous. While the brave Dwernecki, the "cannon provider," was withstanding a greatly superior force on the Austrian frontier, the Russians passed over neutral ground to outflank him. He was followed in his retreat by the Russians who were allowed to retire, while the brave, patriotic, and devoted champions of Poland were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the Austrian forces stationed on the frontier.

While a Polish corps was at Minsk, Skryznecki united all his corps on the left, crossed the Bug, and forced his way to Ostrolenka, a flank movement of 80 miles, and defeated the Russian guards at Tychosin. He then sent forward 300 Polish officers to Lithuania, there to organize the patriot forces.

The sanguinary battle of Ostrolenka was fought on the 26th May, in which 20,000 Poles were opposed to 60,000 Russians. This battle was fought with an inveteracy unexampled—quarter was out of the question. The Poles having succeeded in passing to the right bank of the Narew, they attempted to destroy the bridge. This they were unable to effect, as the Russians were protected by a numerous artillery placed on the opposite bank. Several regiments of Poles, under a most galling fire, attempted to arrest the progress of the Russians. The combat was for a long time one of slaughter, they fought man to man, and thousands were killed by being thrown into the dyke which passes along the marshy shore of the Narew. The battle did not end till 12 o'clock at night, when the exhausted Russians retrograded as far as the bridge, and the Polish army commenced a retrograde movement unmolested, and fell back on Praga. The loss of the Poles in this battle has been stated at 4,000 men. The Russians suffered very severely and had three generals killed. The Russian guards are said to have displayed great bravery in the action. It was the object of Diebitsch to cut off the retreat of the Poles. The second Polish corps under General Lubinski displayed great gallantry on the 25th: it forced its way, at the point of the bayonet in a retreat from Chirchnowiec, through 40,000 Russians.

It was subsequently ascertained that a correspondence had been kept up by traitors and Russian agents in Warsaw, through whose means Diebitsch was informed of the plans of the Polish

commander in chief, and led to the disastrous battle of Ostrolenka. On the same day that the battle of Ostrolenka was fought, General Chlapowski gained a victory over the Russians at Mariampol, commanded by General Sacken.

The Russian commander in chief, Diebitsch, died suddenly at Klechewo, June 19th, at that time the head-quarters of the Russian army. He had been superseded a short time previous to his death by Paskewitch, who had greatly distinguished himself in the war against the Persians. Shortly afterwards, the Arch Duke Constantine died very suddenly.

The Russian arms under Diebitsch in the campaign against enfeebled and distracted Turkey, acquired a fictitious celebrity; but Russia has been entirely shorn of this fame by a handful of Polish patriots. Had it not been for this untoward war against Poland, Diebitsch's name might have descended to posterity as a renowned warrior. Poor Diebitsch became the laughing stock of all Europe; and the boasted prowess of Russia has since been viewed in a very different aspect. Russia, in the height of her pride and in the full confidence of her strength, was about to march her legions upon France; when the breaking out of the Polish revolution afforded her sufficient employment nearer home. If Poland, at the commencement of the revolution, had succeeded in establishing an energetic government, and possessed a leader fully competent to direct her valiant soldiers, the overbearing power and haughty pride of Russia might have been humbled to the dust.

General Gielgud was sent with a force of 8,000 men into Samogitia, a district of Lithuania, and was for a time successful; but was defeated in an attack on Wilna, and forced to retreat. On the 13th of July, the remains of the corps of Gielgud and Chlapowski, reduced to 2,500 men, passed over into the Prussian territory, when General Gielgud was shot by a Polish officer.

General Dembinski had entered Lithuania at Olitta, about 55 miles west of Wilna, with corps to aid the insurgents. The failure of Gielgud before Wilna obliged him to retreat—he forced his way through the Russians, and arrived safely in Warsaw. This retreat was a masterly display of generalship.

June 29th, a conspiracy was this day timely discovered in Warsaw, which was to set the Russian prisoners, thirteen thousand in number, at liberty. Several disaffected officers attempted to bring about a counter-revolution to favor the Russians. It was to be accomplished as follows: the prisoners having been allowed to go at large, they were to be supplied with arms; and on a signal being given the powder mill was to be blown up,

when a general attack was to be made on the citizens and national guard. General Janowski, one of the traitors, to save himself, made the discovery of this horrid conspiracy just in time to save Warsaw.

On the 14th July, General Chrzanski was attacked by General Rudiger's corps. on this side of Minsk, five miles from Warsaw; when the Russians were defeated and forced to retreat, having 3,000 men killed, 900 prisoners taken, and 1000 muskets. On the 12th, the main army of Paskewitch was encamped between Sisno and Kikal, and on the same day a great part of it passed the Vistula between Warsaw and the Prussian frontier, having received from Thorn a great number of barges and materials for bridges. The Prussians, to facilitate the passing of the Russians, had constructed a bridge over the Vistula at Drewenca.

On the 13th of August, General Skryznecki resigned the command of the army to General Dembinski, compelled, by the force of circumstances, to do so, in order that faction might have no further pretext to injure his country. His letter of resignation on this occasion, is full of generous devotion to the cause of his country. The patriotic club, irritated with the measures of government and dissatisfied at not seeing General Janowski condemned, determined to take violent measures. To these acts they were instigated by the base Krukowiecki. On the 15th August, at 8 A. M. the club formally demanded that Skryznecki should be ordered to Warsaw. They then proceeded to the castle, that was protected by 200 of the national guard, who made scarcely any resistance. On the same day, the patriotic club demanded the death of Janowski; and on the 16th, the state prisoners concerned in the conspiracy for a counter-revolution, were murdered in their rooms by the clubists. Thirty-five persons were thus put to death without ceremony; among them were Generals Janowski, Bulkowski, Hurtig, Salacki, and Benthouski, the Russian chamberlain, Fustiane, &c.

During the night, General Krukowiecki was appointed governor of the city. He sent for a reinforcement, and his first measures were to put a stop to these horrors. August 17th, the government was dissolved, and Krukowiecki was placed at the head of the new government, with very extended powers. He caused the arrest of the president and ten of the club, and appointed General Prondzynski to the chief command in the army.

From the time that Krukowiecki came into power, he took measures to deliver Warsaw to the Russians, and made every

attempt to induce the diet to demand an amnesty, and sent the main part of the Polish army to the right side of the Vistula, when the thunder of the Russian artillery was breaking over the devoted city. The proposals of Krukowiecki were repelled by the diet with indignation, who declared to the suspicious deputies, "rather will we die here in our places than stain the honor of our country." The traitor was deposed at midnight and a new governor of the city named, which gave new vigor to the fainting defenders of Warsaw.

On the 6th of September, at daybreak, the Russian army of 100,000 men and 300 pieces of cannon, advanced to storm Warsaw, which was defended with great heroism. On the 8th, after two days hard fighting, it surrendered to Field Marshal Paskevitch. The Russians had 20,000 slain in storming Warsaw. The Poles lost about half that number in its defence.

The government and the most distinguished citizens retired with the main body of the army, under the new commander in chief, Rybinski, upon Modlin and Plozk. The army, however, kept in three divisions instead of uniting, which could thus offer but a feeble resistance to the Russian forces. As a last resource, the Poles crossed the frontiers into the Austrian and Prussian dominions. Upwards of 1500 of the most distinguished leaders of the Polish revolution were arrested and imprisoned at Warsaw; and to complete the measures of oppression and vengeance, the Russian troops fired upon the prisoners confined in one of the wings of the prison, under the pretence of a revolt among the prisoners, though it was known that three-fourths of these were imprisoned for political offences.

Of twenty-two Polish generals that became, in a manner, prisoners under the amnesty, the greater part were sent to distant parts of the Russian empire, and but four returned to Poland. The soldiers were marched by thousands to Siberian exile, linked together by the wrists to bars of iron. The nobles were treated in the same ignominious manner, with their heads shaved, and consigned to the dungeons and mines of Siberia; and the children were torn from their mothers, and carried off to glut the vengeance of the Autocrat of all the Russias.

Numbers of the patriots that escaped after the fall of Warsaw, when the army passed the frontiers, have gone into voluntary exile, and are now mourning over the calamities of their country, the loss of their homes, their wives, and their children.

The Prussian government treated the Polish refugees that fled into her territory with horrible brutality, in order to force these now miserable and heart-broken outcasts into the iron fangs of Russian despotism.

The recital of the barbarous deeds perpetrated by insatiate and faithless Russia on completing the subjugation of Poland, cannot fail to fill with sorrow the breast of every friend to humanity: and it sickens the heart to think, that these wretched and trodden-down Poles are now perhaps for ever beyond the reach of all human aid. The French government, during the Polish struggle, a period of intense interest to the fervent and sympathizing Frenchmen, showed the blackest ingratitude and perfidy towards the chivalrous Poles. It was in vain that the good Lafayette lifted up his imploring voice in their behalf to the citizen King. It would seem, indeed, as if the nationality of Poland was now for ever blasted; and the survivors of this once noble race of warriors and patriots were destined, by several of the arbitrary governments of Europe, to be hunted down like beasts of prey.

Russia is at present erecting a citadel at Warsaw, intended to overawe the Poles for the future. The cost of the building, 20,000,000 florins, is to be extorted from the oppressed citizens of Warsaw.

CHAPTER XIV.

Greek Revolution. War between Russia and Turkey. England, from A. D. 1816, to the passing of the Reform Bill, A. D. 1832.

AMONG the extraordinary events of the 19th century, there is none that occasioned more thrilling interest at the time, than the protracted and fearful struggle made by the modern Greeks to gain their independence.

The classic soil of Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Corinth, for the last four centuries had been profaned by Turkish despotism. It was the same soil that, 2500 years ago, was the seat of learning and the abode of free institutions. It was the land of Homer and Demosthenes, Solon and Pericles, that, after the slumber of ages, was awakened to new life.

The struggle, of which we are about to give a faint and rapid sketch, is the one made by the modern Greeks to achieve their country's independence, and elevate Greece to an equal rank with civilized nations. And though this people had been so long under the most debasing slavery, they nevertheless displayed, during this momentous struggle, numerous deeds of valor worthy their renowned ancestors.

Before entering on this eventful revolution, which began in the Morea, March 23, 1821, it will be necessary, in order fully to understand its origin, to state, that some years before th

commencement of hostilities the patriots of Greece founded, in 1814, an association called the Hetaria. There was a society established at Vienna the same year, of which Count Capo d'Istrias was one of the first members; but it did not publicly avow any political designs. The head-quarters of this society were at St. Petersburg, whither many of the most distinguished Greeks repaired under the pretext of having commercial business to transact.

The Greeks it appears had, at different times, been called upon by Russia to shake off the Turkish yoke, namely, in the years 1769, 1786, and 1806; and a society, avowedly for the liberation of Greece, was formed in Paris in 1809. It was found that the beginning made in 1814, was too early to insure success. A people who had long been kept in an abject state of slavery, needed first a due preparation and a general diffusion of knowledge; and the plans for such a weighty undertaking required to be well matured.

The intercourse kept up with France, was of great consequence in forwarding the cause of liberty in Greece; and the revival of literature and the spread of science, brought with it an ardent desire for their country's freedom. This was further promoted by giving them the works of Goldsmith, Franklin's Poor Richard, Fenelon, and Montesquieu, which were translated into modern Greek at Athens, Saloniki, Smyrna, &c.; and schools were established, that were subsequently swept away by the war.

The Hetaria, or society of friends, kept up an active correspondence with the Greeks in different parts of Europe, who hastened to join it; while some men of the highest standing visited St. Petersburg to further their designs, and even looked to Russia for aid. When this hope was found to be fallacious, the Greeks resolved to begin themselves. The first movement was made by Czerni George, in 1817, an exiled chief of Servia, who was suddenly to appear in Servia, his native province, while Galati, and other Grecian chiefs, were to raise the standard in the south of Greece, and the Morea. Czerni George, the Servian, was treacherously betrayed and murdered on his way by Milosh, a relative and former friend, and his head sent to Constantinople. Count Galati retired to Bucharest, and there shortly afterwards died. The next attempt was arranged for 1825.

In the mean time some chiefs, burning with desire for the glorious cause of freedom, began the revolution. These were M. Suzzo, hospodar of Moldavia, one of the Hetaarists; Alexander Ypsilanti, a major general in the Russian army, and Prince

Catacuzene. Ypsilanti was to begin hostilities beyond the Danube, while all Greece was to be summoned with a proclamation; and to render their measures more certain, an explosion was to take place at Constantinople.

Ypsilanti began before Moldavia was prepared to co-operate. His proclamation was energetic, and called on all Greece to shake off the Turkish yoke. It roused the Moldavians, and Ypsilanti took possession of Bucharest, the capital of Walachia, containing 80,000 inhabitants. But Russia disclaimed all participation in a manifesto which she published. Suzzo gave up the command in Moldavia, and the plot at Constantinople was frustrated. A chieftain who joined Ypsilanti, was suspected of treachery. He was arrested and beheaded. This was Vladimiresco; and the price of his correspondence with the Porte was, that he was to be made hospodar.

Ypsilanti was now forced to retire from Bucharest before 10,000 men, who entered the city without firing a shot. The Hetarists who fell into the hands of the Turks were impaled alive, and numbers of children hung up by their feet along the roads. The monasteries were entered, and the inmates butchered. Prince Ypsilanti retreated to Tergovist, followed by the Turks. A battle was fought at the monastery of Dragachan, on the morning of June 17th. The Turkish infantry charged with loud shouts, but were repulsed with the bayonet. A second charge was repelled with equal firmness. At this juncture, the cowardice and treason of Caravia, an officer of cavalry, changed the fate of the patriot army. He turned round and fled, and immediately the whole army was in confusion. Giorgaki, with his corps, displayed great firmness during the route. The sacred band of about 400 or 500 young Greeks stood firm, while the rest fled and crossed the Oltau; these sustained the shock of 1500 Turkish cavalry. They sold their lives nobly, determined to fall rather than yield. The disparity in numbers was too great for success, when about 400 fell. Such an example of patriotism had a most salutary effect on the Greeks. The army of Prince Ypsilanti being annihilated, he repaired to Trieste, intending to rejoin his countrymen in the Morea. The Austrian government seized him, and imprisoned him at the castle of Montgatz, in Hungary.

When the intelligence of the insurrection in Moldavia reached Constantinople, the Sultan issued immediate orders to disarm all the Greeks in the empire, and a war of extermination at the capital commenced. The Greek patriarch, Gregorius, was murdered on the 22d April, the day of the greatest festival of the Greek church, and his body dragged by Jews through the streets

of Constantinople. Several other ecclesiastics shared the same fate, and a number of Greek churches were destroyed, which exasperated the Greeks to a degree of desperation, who saw that nothing short of extermination awaited them. The priests in the islands of the Morea, from the atrocious acts at Constantinople, saw themselves doomed to certain destruction. They therefore exerted themselves strenuously, to inspire the people to resistance and vengeance.

By the 1st of April, the excitement became general. The inhabitants of Patras were disaffected by the exorbitant levies of the Turks. Mutual distrust began between Greeks and Turks—each prepared for the worst. Hostilities were first opened by the inhabitants of Suda, a large village near Calavrita, in the northern part of Arcadia. At Patras, the Greeks refused to give up their arms, when the Turks fired with cannon upon the place from the fortress, and soon took possession of it. Germanos, archbishop of Patras, assembled an army of 4,000 peasants, and took the city from the Turks. The scene that followed ended in the destruction of three hundred houses and pillage.

In the islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, the greatest activity was displayed in fitting out ships of war, the united force of which was eighty or ninety vessels of 10 or 12 guns each; and fifty or sixty smaller vessels were supplied by other islands. The flag hoisted by the Greeks, consisted of eight blue and white horizontal stripes. The superior activity of the Greek navy was soon shown.

The first Turkish fleet left the Dardanelles on the 19th of May, and was followed by the Greek fire-ships. On the 8th of June, they burned a ship of the line, ashore near Tenedos—compelling the Turkish fleet to put back to the Dardanelles.

The Ipsariots landed on the coast of Asia Minor, and took possession of Cydinia, which was soon after retaken by the Turks, and the inhabitants murdered and driven away to the number of 35,000. It must be kept in mind during this struggle, that the islanders displayed higher traits of patriotism and valor than the Moreots; in which the women took part in this struggle for liberty. The Turks next disarmed Candia, and executed the archbishop and several clergymen. The peasants in the mountains and suburbs of Candia would not give up their arms: they united and succeeded in driving the Turks back into the towns, though they were thousands strong.

In the month of November, the island of Cyprus was disarmed, and nearly all the inhabitants of Larnica murdered. The peasantry for uniting in their defence, had, in the month of August,

1822, their villages, sixty-two in number, burned. In the mean time the great Turkish fleet supplied their garrisons in the Morea with arms, ammunition, &c.

The cause of Greece received a new impulse by the arrival of Demetrius Ypsilanti, and Prince Alexander Cantacuzene. After some difficulty, Ypsilanti was appointed commander in chief, July 24, 1821, of the Peloponnesus, the Archipelago, and all the liberated provinces. There was at this time dissension amongst the Greek leaders. Tripolizza, the chief fortress of the Turks, was besieged by Demetrius Ypsilanti, and 8,000 Turks perished. It was in this fortress the Greeks obtained their first heavy cannon; and it became the seat of government till it was transferred to Argos. In Thessaly, Ulysses with several other leaders or capitani, defeated near Thermopylæ, a Turkish army which had advanced from Macedonia. Prince Mavrocordato received the chief command of the Albanian forces; when the government began to acquire some form, after much difficulty and dissention. Prince Mavrocordato succeeded, Jan. 13, (Jan. 1,) 1822, in establishing an approximation to a federative constitution at Epidaurus, until the second national assembly in Astro, March 14, 1823. At this convention more than 60 deputies attended.

The western part of Greece, Arcania, Ætolia, and Epirus, sent 30 deputies to Missilonghi, who, under the presidency of Alexander Mavrocordato, formed a government consisting of ten members.

The eastern part of the main land sent 33 deputies to Salona, under the presidency of Theodore Negris, forming the Areopagus of 14 members, November 16; and the Morea, or Peloponnesus, with the islands of Hydra, Ipsara, Spezzia, &c. sent to Argos 60 deputies, who assembled, December 1st, under the presidency of Prince Demetrius, and established the Peloponnesian Gerousia of 20 members.

These three governments, Missilonghi, Salona, and Argos, were to prepare a permanent constitution. With this view, 67 deputies from all the Greek provinces, formed the first national assembly in Epidaurus, Jan. 10, 1822, under the presidency of Mavrocordato; and on the 13th, proclaimed the constitution, (which was provisional) and on the 27th, the congress of Epidaurus issued a manifesto, in which they pronounced the union of the Greeks, under an independent federative government. The central government was fixed at Corinth, and some time after at Argos.

We are obliged to pass over many of the movements, till the arrival of the great Turkish fleet, April 11, when 15,000

barbarian Asiatic troops were landed at Scio: and soon this delightful and flourishing island was changed into a scene of fire and blood. Down to May 25th, the Turks, according to their own lists, sold into slavery, 41,000 Sciots, mostly women and children.

The Capudan Pacha was next prepared to desolate Ipsara, Rhine, and Samos; but the Ipsariots, with 70 small vessels and fire-ships, hovered round the Turkish fleet, and in the night-time, rowed among their ships, while yet they lay in the road of Scio, and attached fire-ships to the Capudan Pacha's vessel, which blew up with 2,286 men; and the Pacha himself, mortally wounded, was carried ashore, where he died. Another ship of the line narrowly escaped. These daring acts of the Ipsariots stupified the Turks; from which, when they had recovered, they destroyed the last traces of cultivation.

The savage fury of the Turks about this time may be judged by the fact, that they bought the wretched Sciots at Constantinople, merely for the pleasure of putting them to death. The Pacha of Saloniki, (Abbolubut,) boasted that he had destroyed 1500 women and children in one day. 150 villages and 5,000 Christians experienced the fate of Scio. While all these horrors were taking place, Mavrocordato, president of the executive council, was organizing the government, which met with resistance from the avariciousness of Coloctroni and others.

It had now become important to cover Missilonghi, the strong hold of western Hellas, from the weakened state of the army. Mavrocordato, with 300 men, and Marco Botzaris, with 22 Suliots, on the 5th of November, threw themselves into Missilonghi; while 11,000 Turks advanced against it. Another force of 25,000 under Khurshid, principally cavalry, passed Thermopylæ, and as they advanced through Livadia, laid every thing waste, and occupied Corinth. In attempting the passes of Larissa, Khurshid was repelled three times by Ulysses. Khurshid died Nov. 26. Most of this cavalry perished for its rashness in the defiles of the Morea; and the remainder formed a junction with 5000 men, of Jussaf Pacha's army, and sent reinforcements to Napoli di Romania. The Greek fleet kept the great Turkish fleet from affording relief to this place. Ulysses, Coloctroni, and Ypsilanti, now prosecuted their operations with great zeal, and drove the Turkish forces out of the Morea. Niketas fell upon them in the defiles of Tretes, and only 2,000 escaped to the Isthmus of Corinth, where Ypsilanti fell upon and destroyed them. More than 20,000 Turkish soldiers perished in less than four weeks. In Greece, there were yet some thousand Turks,

that held the Isthmus and the Acrocorinthus, that were soon after dispersed and destroyed.

The Turkish fleet left the Gulf of Lepanto, where it had failed against Missolonghi. It was unable to break the line of 57 Greek ships blockading Romania, and at last came to anchor off Tenedos. Nov. 10, a small number of Ipsariots carried fire-ships among the fleet, and fired the ships of the admiral and the capitain Bey. The latter was blown up with 1800 men. Three frigates were wrecked on the coast of Asia, and a vessel of 36 guns captured. Of 35 vessels, 18 only returned much injured to the Dardanelles. The 17 Ipsariots who had done these exploits, arrived in safety at Ipsara, and Kanaris and Mniauly were rewarded, by the Euphori, with naval crowns. Again the Greeks were masters of the sea : it enabled them to blockade the Turkish forts, which was acknowledged by Great Britain. The change of ministry in England was most fortunate for Greece. With Canning as premier, and Maitland lord commissioner of the Ionian Isles, they had less hostility directed against them. Omar Vrione was repulsed by Mavrocordato and Botzaris, before Missolonghi, where he lost his cannon. Napoli di Romania was taken from the Turks Dec. 12, (new style.)

A proclamation to the European powers was issued April 15, 1822, which the Holy Alliance considered incompatible with their views on legitimacy, though disposed to be lenient towards the suffering state of Greece. The dissensions among the Greek leaders, had an unfavorable influence on their cause with the European cabinets. Colocotroni meditated a division of the Morea into hereditary principalities.

The central government called a second national assembly at Astro, Jan. 1823, which averted a civil war ; while the judicious measures of Mavrocordato tended to bring about concord. When the national assembly opened, March 14, at Astro, it consisted of 100 members. Mavromichalis was elected president ; Theodore Negris, secretary ; and the perfidious and avaricious Colocotroni submitted to the assembly.

Condurioti was chosen president of the legislative, and Petro Mavromichalis, Bey of Maina, of the executive council. Both legislative bodies resolved to raise about 50,000,000 piasters, to levy and equip 50,000 men, and 100 large men of war. The French military code was adopted. This assembly proclaimed the new constitution of Astro, April 23d, 1823. Several changes took place in the ministry. Mavrocordato was made president, and Colocotroni, vice president.

This year the Sultan had determined upon exterminating the suffering Greeks. Mavrocordato was placed at the head of

the army, and Orlandi, a Hydriot, organized the navy, now consisting of 403 sail, with cannon. The largest ship carried 26 guns, and Miaulis was admiral; M. Tumbasis of Hydra, George Demitracci, of Spezzia, and Nicholas Apostoles, of Ipsara, vice admirals. The financial department met with much difficulty. In March, the fleet had gained a victory over the Egyptian flotilla, destined for the invasion of Candia, though it was unsuccessful in its attempt to prevent the landing of Turkish troops.

M. Botzaris, the Suliot, now commanded the forces in western, and Ulysses in eastern Greece. The battles fought during this year, were not less fierce and sanguinary than those in 1822. M. Botzaris surprised the Turkish camp at Carpinissi, at midnight, with 500 Suliots, and penetrated to the tent of the Pacha of Delvino; but in the moment of victory received a mortal wound. The victory, however, was completed by his brother Constantine. The noble Botzaris as he expired, exclaimed—"How sweet it is to die for one's country." The defeat of the Turks was complete, all their baggage and artillery being taken, and the Pacha made prisoner.

The members of government were at Argos, in November, 1823. About this time the campaign was finished, though a partizan warfare continued in Thessaly and Epirus. Societies in England aided the Greek cause by means of loans, and by supplies of arms.

The illustrious poet, Lord Byron, took a deep interest in the struggle made by the Greeks to throw off the Mohammedan yoke. His zeal led him to offer his personal and pecuniary aid in their cause. He embarked August, 1823, with five or six English friends, in an English vessel he had purposely hired, and arrived in Greece at the beginning of the third campaign, where he was received with marked distinction. On his arrival at Cephalonia, where he first established himself, he addressed a letter to the Greek government, and was induced by the information he received, to advance 12,000*l.* for the relief of Missolonghi, where he afterwards, with Col. Stanhope, took an active part in organizing the artillery. Byron himself established printing offices and schools in Missolonghi. He also took 500 Suliots into his pay; but found them very refractory and unwilling to march with him as he designed upon Lepanto. This preyed greatly upon his spirits, and he soon after became dangerously ill, and died at Missolonghi, April 19, 1824. His death was solemnized by a general mourning of twenty-one days.

The Turks began the campaign of 1824 with much more vigor than it had previously been carried on. Peace being conclude

with Persia, July 28th, 1823, and a rebellious Pacha of St. Jean d'Acre, having yielded voluntary submission to the Porte, it was enabled to send forces from Asia, and those that had been stationed in Moldavia and Walachia now evacuated.

The preceding campaign had taught the Turks, that the destruction of the Greek navy was their only means of succeeding in subduing Greece. The Capudan Pacha, Khosru, sailed from Mitylene, July 3d, with two ships of the line, eight frigates, four corvettes, forty brigs, and smaller vessels to the amount of 200. Among the latter were a number of neutral transport ships, belonging to the Russians, Austrians, and others, hired by the Capudan Pacha, that sailed from the Dardanelles, April 28th. The Russians were now on the most friendly terms with the Grand Seignior, and aided the Turks with transport ships. There were besides, Austrian, Italian, and Spanish vessels, engaged against the liberties of Greece.

To oppose the armament of the Capudan Pacha, the Ipsariots had 2,500 men, the entire male population, and a corps of Albanians and fugitive Sciots, about 1,500 in number, divided into four companies. Their forces were provided with batteries, ammunition, &c. The Turks landed silently in the night, in spite of the vigilance of the islanders, and advanced in three columns. One advanced upon the town, and two proceeded to the batteries, taking them in the rear, when the most horrible butchery was perpetrated. Five hundred Albanians shut themselves up in fort St. Nicholas, which defended the town. Wretched and afflicted mothers first flung their children from high precipices, and then cast themselves into the sea. The Albanians in the fort barricaded the gates, and killed half of the first assailants.

The Turks concentrated their forces to reduce the fort, and during the night made a dreadful assault upon the Christians, who in defence performed prodigies of valor; but unable longer to withstand the overwhelming force of the barbarians, they threw open the gates, suffered 2,000 men to rush into the fort, till it was entirely filled, and on a concerted signal, in an instant all were blown up, and buried amidst its ruins. This took place on the fourth of July. By the efforts of Ipsara, 4,000 Christians perished, besides the total destruction of all property; with 100 vessels of different sizes, belonging to the islanders.

Admiral Miaulis, with the Greek fleet, arrived before Ipsara, on the 8th of July, when the Turks immediately put to sea, and numbers were captured. The Greeks, on landing at Ipsara, found nothing but ruins and heaps of putrid corpses; but the

dreadful stench obliged them to retire from this scene of horror. The atrocities perpetrated at Ipsara by the barbarians, at once roused up all the energies of Greece with dire revenge.

The next attempt of the Capudan Pacha, was upon Samos. Kanaris, the brave Ipsariot, with a fire-ship destroyed a 40 gun frigate under sail; and several transports shared a similar fate, besides a Tunisian brig of war, and a large Tripolitan corvette. On the 21st, another fleet of transports destined for Samos, were dispersed and partly destroyed. The following day, the Turkish fleet attempted to make the passage from Cape Trogilium to the opposite shore; but the appearance of two or three fire-ships caused such terror in the Ottoman fleet, as to drive it in disgrace on the Asiatic coast. Some time after, a junction took place between the Egyptian vessels and those of the Capudan Pacha, intending to return to Samos. The skill and boldness of the Greeks destroyed a number of these with their fire-ships, and thus astounded the Turks with their deeds of valor, who were glad to effect a retreat to the Dardanelles.

In November, the Egyptians sustained severe damage from their enemy on the northern coast of Candia. The forces of the Greeks successfully repelled their barbarian invaders by land, so that the campaign of 1824 was glorious for Greece, and its prospects more cheering than had appeared at any time previous. This gladdening prospect continued up to the beginning of February.

The government of Greece now began to assume harmony and strength, and commerce revived. Their army was attempted to be organized after the European tactics; justice was regularly administered, and freedom of the press allowed. In Missolonghi four newspapers were issued twice a week. In the midst of these cheering prospects for Greece, an Egyptian fleet which had been delayed some months, sailed on the 19th July, from Alexandria, consisting of nine frigates, four corvettes, forty brigs and galliots, with 18,000 troops in 240 transports. This armament, under Ibrahim Pacha, was designed to subdue and desolate the Morea. The Egyptian and Turkish fleets united in the gulf of Bodroun, Sept. 4th, where a naval action ensued. Kanaris blew up a 44 gun Egyptian frigate and a brig. The fleets then separated; the Turkish fleet returned to Constantinople, and Ibrahim's fleet to the gulf of Bodroun. Soon after, Miaulis attacked it off Candia, and destroyed a frigate, 10 small vessels. and 15 transports; when he retired to Rhodes, further weakened by the plague on board his ships, and frustrated in his plans of conquering the Morea.

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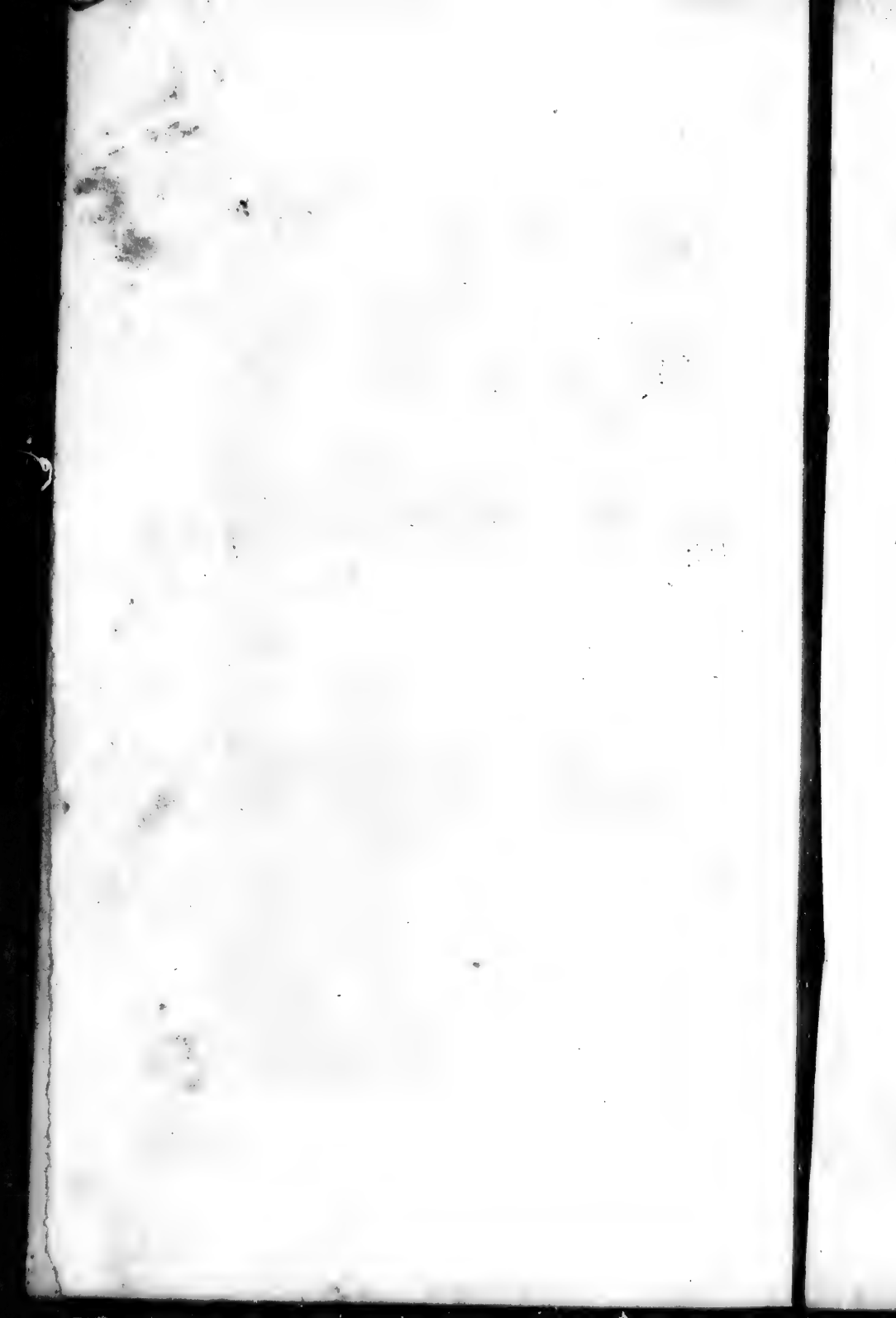
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Storming of Warsaw. Vol. 2, p. 340.



Fall of Missolonghi. Vol. 2, p. 356.



Notwithstanding the critical situation in which Greece was now placed by the power of Egypt being exerted against her, we find the peninsula in the most distracted state by the dissensions and broils of the capatani. In October, the election for the third term commenced. The executive council at Napoli di Romania, consisted of 63 members. The president, Mavrocordato, resigned, and Panuzzo Notaras was chosen his successor. Colocotroni was disappointed in his ambitious views. Some other disaffected chiefs raised the standard at Tripolizza, under the command of Panos Colocotroni. Troops were sent thither, by the command of Condurioti, and after several battles, the rebels were defeated and dispersed, and Panos Colocotroni killed. About this time the famous Amazon Bobolina, a follower of Colocotroni, was assassinated. Ulysses entered into a secret treaty with the Turks, but was defeated and captured. In attempting to escape from a tower he received a fall, and died in consequence thereof. Colocotroni, the father, finding himself deserted, surrendered himself up in December, 1824. Several other leaders of this rebellion fled, and the rest were seized.

The government now exerted itself to carry into effect the provisions of the law, and keep up discipline in the army. The annual revenue the Porte received, from the Peloponnesus alone, amounted to 35,000,000 Turkish piastres.

In the campaign of 1825, Ibrahim Pacha landed his troops in the Morea; and Missolonghi was besieged by Redschid Pacha, aided by the fleet of the Capudan Pacha. This calamitous event was owing to the treachery and dissensions of the Greek chiefs, which permitted Ibrahim to land between Coron and Mordon, February 22, 1825, an army of 4,500 men; and the next month his force was augmented to 12,000, drilled with French officers, after the European tactics. He had besides, an excellent body of cavalry. Ibrahim besieged Navarino, which soon fell into his power. He next pressed on to Tripolizza. Old Colocotroni was pardoned by the government, which received his assurances of fidelity; and in May, 1825, the command of the Peloponnesus was entrusted to him. A third siege of Missolonghi was commenced April 22d. The Pacha's fleet lost several ships in an engagement with the Greek admiral, Saccouri, near Cape d'Oro. Calamata and Tripolizza were taken by Ibrahim, who went on destroying every thing till he reached Argos. He then received a severe check from Colocotroni's army, which caused him to fall back to Tripolizza. When Ibrahim found that the Greeks would not obey him or submit to his authority, he put the men to death, carried the women

and children slaves to Egypt, and desolated every place within his reach.

Missilonghi, defended by Noto Botzaris, the first among the brave, was now closely besieged by the Turks, having before it 35,000 land forces, and 4,000 by sea. After a severe contest of several days they were totally defeated, August 2d, 1825. The Turks lost 9,000 men. During this siege the brave and active Miaulis arrived with his fleet, and burned several of the enemy's ships, and forced the rest to retire. The siege of Missilonghi was raised October 2d, 1825, four months and a half from its commencement.

In the mean time, Ibrahim was carrying terror with his arms, and desolating the Morea more widely; and the government was in great danger, having entirely lost the confidence of the auxiliary societies in England, whose loans had been improperly laid out. At last the Greeks sent deputies to England, resolved to throw themselves on the protection of Great Britain. Before the arrival of their deputies, the English government had issued (Sept. 30,) a declaration of neutrality. But the alliance of the powers of Europe prevented the interference of any single power in behalf of Greece.

Sir Stratford Canning, the English ambassador to Constantinople, set out in January, 1826, and on his way had a long interview at Hydra with Mavrocordato, and other Greek statesmen, with a view to inform himself respecting the state of Greece. He then proceeded to Constantinople, where he arrived the last of February. About the same time, (March,) the affairs of Greece were discussed at St. Petersburg, by Lord Strangford, the British resident minister there, and who had formerly been minister to Constantinople, and the Duke of Wellington, envoy extraordinary, who had been sent thither by Canning. A hope now began to be cherished, that the independence of Greece would be acknowledged by the Christian powers of Europe.

The Pacha fully bent on reducing Missilonghi, had landed more troops in the Morea, in order to carry on a winter campaign. The affairs of Greece were, at this time, in the most gloomy state, having scarcely 6,000 men under arms to withstand this rapacious foe; while the money furnished by the friends of Greece for the equipment of the army, was squandered by the capitani. The French, at this time, were busy intriguing against the English agents, to the great injury of Greece. In the midst of all these disasters, the Greeks succeeded, November 24th, in throwing into Missilonghi, besieged for the fourth time, a supply of ammunition and provisions for this garrison, which had so gallantly repulsed an attack, both by sea and land.

A body of troops sent by Ibrahim against Corinth, was destroyed by Niketas.

In December, the Greeks fitted out another naval equipment at Hydra, for the safety of Missilonghi; where Miaulia, January 6th, put to flight the Capudan Pacha's fleet; which some time after returned, when another attempt made to throw supplies into the place, failed. On the 28th, Missilonghi was summoned to surrender, which was bravely set at defiance. The fleets had an engagement in the gulf of Patras, when Canaris destroyed with his fire-ships, a frigate and several smaller vessels. Ibrahim, dissatisfied with the Capudan Pacha, caused his dismissal. The success of the battle enabled the Greeks to furnish Missilonghi with some farther supplies; but they failed in attempting it again, Feb. 12th, then blockaded by the Turco-Egyptian fleet.

The siege of Missilonghi was carried on with vigor by Ibrahim Pacha alone, who had before it 25,000 men, and of these, 9,000 were regular troops. He had before it forty-eight cannon, that had been sold him by the French; and he was aided by Pierre Boyer, a general, (a Bonapartist,) notorious for his cruelties in Egypt, Spain, and St. Domingo. The frequent overtures made by Ibrahim to the garrison to surrender, during its bombardment, were rejected. The assault continued from Feb. 28, till March 2d, when it was attacked by sea and land, with a loss to the besiegers of 4,000 men. The valor of the garrison had sustained it for a fifth time, though it was nearly destitute of provisions. In a short time, the sufferings of the garrison became extreme, and the surrounding country was devastated by the barbarian forces. Their sufferings and heroic defence gained for Greece, many ardent and active friends in Europe; and funds were immediately raised for the heroic sufferers. Mr. Eynard, of Geneva, made them a liberal donation, in addition to 50,000 francs he had before given; and it was on his representation respecting the Greeks, that the committee of Paris voted 60,000, and that of Amsterdam 30,000. With these means supplies were sent, and the Greeks were successful in throwing some of them into the place, in the face of great difficulties. From April 15th, Ibrahim directed all his attention to prevent supplies being sent from Zante in small boats. The situation of the besieged had now become truly deplorable. On the 17th and 18th they began to die of hunger; the four following days, their horrors hourly increased. Mines were now prepared in various parts of the city to blow it up, as they were determined not to surrender.

On the 21st and 22d, the Greek fleet under Miaulis, made an

attempt to relieve the sufferers that proved unavailing. His ships were too small to contend with the overwhelming fleet of Ibrahim, consisting of 6 ships of the line, 8 or 10 frigates, and 90 vessels of different sizes. Missolonghi, at length reduced to a heap of ruins, fell April 22d, 1826. At midnight, about 2,000 men, accompanied by women and children, rushed out on the batteries of the enemy; 500 Greeks fell on the spot, while the rest, amounting to 1,800, under Noto Botzaris and Kitzos Isavellas, reached Salona, and afterwards fought at Athens. Those that remained in the city, about 1,000 in number, mostly women and children, with old men, blew themselves up by the mines that had been purposely prepared. At daybreak, the barbarians entered the city. Thus fell Missolonghi, which had so long been the strong hold of western Greece. The plain between Missolonghi and the mountains was covered with the dead bodies of the Suliot, who had been its most valiant defenders. Many escaped to the mountains. More than 3,000 pair of ears were cut off the dead, and sent as a precious trophy to Constantinople; and above 5,000 women and children were made slaves.

The annals of history can furnish but few instances of such ardor, firmness, and perseverance, as was exhibited by the Greeks, during this memorable siege. Mr. Meyer, a Swiss editor, in a letter he wrote a short time before the fall of this place, says—"A few days more, and these brave men will be angelic spirits, who will accuse before God, the indifference of Christendom for a cause which is that of religion. We are drawing near our final hour; history will render us justice; posterity will weep over our misfortunes. May the relation of the siege of Missolonghi, which I have written, survive me. I have made several copies of it." Lord Byron, who died at Missolonghi in April, had resided in that place since the beginning of January, of the same year.

Missolonghi was fortified in 1823, under the superintendence of English officers; and partly at the expense of a patriotic Englishman, whose name, (Murry,) deserves to be handed down to posterity. It had been made the strongest hold in Greece.

Ibrahim was now in possession of Modon, Coron, Navarino, and Patras; and had already removed three pachas. It only remained for him to gain possession of Napoli di Romania, to be master of the islands of the Archipelago. This fact at once opened the eyes of the European powers, who now looked with distrust on Ibrahim.

Great exertions by societies in France, Germany, Switzerland, and England, were made in behalf of the suffering Greeks, and many new societies were formed, when a change of men-

asures in the English ministry had a most decided influence on their destiny. By order of Canning, the Duke of Wellington, at St. Petersburg, had signed the protocol for the interference of the three great powers in behalf of Greece. It was the wish of Canning to adjust the difficulties between Greece and Turkey, without any reference to Russia; but death, at this period, sealed his noble designs.

While these measures were slowly advancing among the diplomatic corps, Ibrahim was desolating the Morea; and the struggling Greeks, a prey to every kind of horror, were dying of hunger.

June 17th, 1827, Athens capitulated to Redschid Pacha. Lord Cochrane now arrived with steam vessels from England, to aid the Greeks; and General Church had the command of the land forces. New dissensions arose at Napoli di Romania, and Pal-mades began to cannonade the city to force the payment of arrears. The executive fled to Ægina. In this state of desperation, the Greeks looked to Russia, and chose Count Capo d'Istria as their president, who entered on his office January 22d, 1828.

In the mean time, a treaty for the settlement of Greece was signed July 6th, 1827, at London, by the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Russia. This treaty was communicated to the ambassadors of the three powers residing at Constantinople; and on the 16th August, their joint note was sent to the Reis Effendi. The Porte refused to admit the interference of the three powers, and further attempts to induce the Porte to listen to the mediation of the allied powers, proved unavailing. The Greek government proclaimed an armistice on the 25th, in conformity with the treaty of London.

September 9th, the Turco-Egyptian fleet arrived at Navarino; and on the 13th, a British squadron under Admiral Codrington, reached this bay. By the 22d, the French squadron, commanded by Admiral Rigny, and that of Russia, under Count Heyden, united. The admirals had an interview with Ibrahim Pacha on the 25th, and informed him of their determination to establish an armistice *de facto*, between Greece and Turkey. On the following day, Ibrahim attempted to sail from Navarino, but was prevented. When he found he would not be suffered to remove his fleet, he commenced the work of destruction by burning houses, destroying vineyards, and the most wanton massacre of women and children. In consequence of these atrocious deeds, the combined fleet entered the port of Navarino, to compel Ibrahim to desist from these brutal outrages.

October 20th, the combined fleet passed the batteries, and by

2 P. M. were ready for action. The Turco-Egyptian fleet was drawn up in the form of a crescent ; their large ships presented a broadside, and between these small vessels intervened. The Allied squadron was led by the *Asia*, the ship of Admiral Codrington, and was followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*, and anchored alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of Capitana Bey, and a large double-banked frigate ; while Moharem Bey, the commander of the Egyptian fleet, was on the other side of the *Asia*. The Turks brought on the action, by killing two Englishmen ; and it soon became general, raging furiously for four hours. It ended in the destruction of the Moorish fleet, that, a short time before, had consisted of 3 ships of the line, 84 guns each ; a razee ; 16 frigates ; 27 large corvettes, from 18 to 24 guns ; and the same number of brigs, with 6 fire-ships. Of this armament there remained afloat, after the action, but 20 corvettes and brigs ; and these were abandoned.

The intelligence of the destruction of the Moorish fleet at Navarino, was received with the liveliest joy by all the friends of Greece, both in Europe and America. This arose from the conviction that this blow had decided the freedom of the Greeks, who, during six years of extreme suffering, had been a prey to the most dreadful horrors.

There was now an involuntary suspension of hostilities. Soon afterwards, the Greek pirates began to infest the seas, which caused the admirals of the united squadron, to send a warm remonstrance to the legislative council of the Greeks. After some punishments had been inflicted upon the offenders, safety was restored in those seas ; but not until the British had destroyed the head-quarters of the pirates in Candia, February 28th, 1828.

The Porte was exasperated, in the highest degree, with the annihilation of its fleet at Navarino ; and forthwith seized and detained all the vessels of the Franks at Constantinople, where they were kept from November 2d, till November 19 ; and even stopped all communication with the ministers of the Allied powers, till indemnification should be made for the destruction of the fleet. The Sultan, in the height of his rage, prepared for war, and used all the means in his power to inflame the passions of the Moslems. In December, the ministers of the three powers left Constantinople, when the Porte adopted conciliatory measures. In the mean time, all the Moslems from the age of 19 to 50, had been called to arms. On the 30th, the Sultan Mahmoud heard that Persian Armenia had fallen into the power of Russia, where Paskewitch had achieved a series of splendid victories.

By this time, Capo d'Istria, the president of Greece, had appointed the able Tricoupi his secretary of state; and had established a high national council, called Panhellenion. Feb. 4th, at Napoli di Romania, he also established a bank, and re-organized the military. France and Russia each lent 6,000,000 francs to aid the new state.

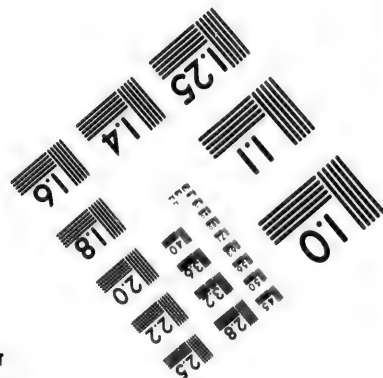
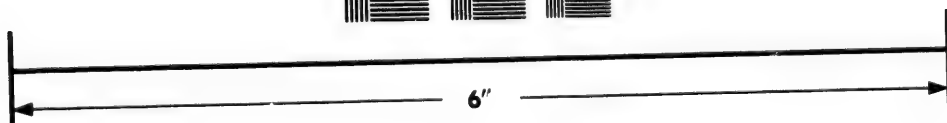
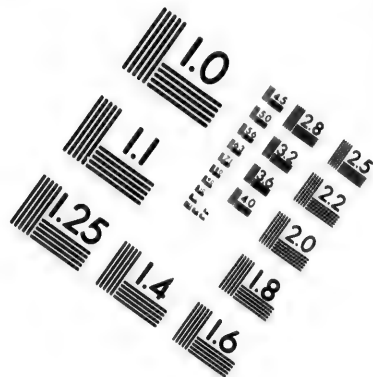
In consequence of the death of Canning and a change of the English ministry, the battle of Navarino was called an untoward event. The Porte continued to reject every proposal for settlement with Greece, and during this time, Ibrahim was carrying away the Greeks into slavery. A war broke out, March, 1828, between Russia and Turkey, so that the Porte had, with this power alone, quite business enough to attend to.

The French cabinet, in concert with England, now sent an army to the Morea, under the command of General Maison, which arrived August 29th, in the bay of Coron, near Petalidi; and Admiral Codrington concluded a treaty with the viceroy of Egypt, Aug. 6th, for the evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim Pacha, and for the liberation of the Greek prisoners, while those who had been carried away, were to be freed or ransomed.

October 4th, Ibrahim sailed from Navarino with 21,000 men, for Alexandria, with the wreck of his fleet, leaving 2,500 in the Messinian fortresses.

The French took undisputed possession of Navarino, and attacked and took the fortresses in Messina, so that Navarino, Modon, and Coron, were soon in their possession. Patras, with 3,000 men, capitulated October 5th, and the flags of the three Allied powers, with the national flag of Greece, waved undisputed over these cities. Admiral Rigny conveyed the Turks to Smyrna.

To defend the Morea from any new attacks of the Turks, a manifesto was issued by the ministers of the three powers, Nov. 16, 1828, declaring—"That they should place the Morea and the Cyclades under their protection, till the time when a definitive arrangement should decide the fate of the provinces, which the Allies had taken possession of; and that they should consider the entrance of any military force into this country, as an attack upon themselves." A French agent carried this note to Constantinople, to which an immediate answer from the Porte was required. But during this time, the Greeks continued active hostilities. Demetrius Ypsilanti, having under him Colotroni and several leaders, and 5,000 men, marched into Livadia, and defeated the Turks, Nov. 2d, at Lomotico, and Dec. 3d, took Salona; then in succession, Lepanto, Livadia, and Vonizza. The Greeks commenced fitting out a great number of privateers



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In consequence of these measures, the Sultan banished 25,000 persons, Greeks and Armenians, not born there, from the city of Constantinople; and the Sultan still declined to recall his barbarous edict of extermination.

Through the energetic measures of Capo d'Istria, Greece began to recover herself after a long period of distraction. He divided the states of Greece into 13 departments, seven of these formed the Peloponnesus, with 280,000 inhabitants, and 8,543 square miles; the eighth, the Northern Sporades, 6,200 inhabitants, 106 square miles; the ninth, the Eastern Sporades, 58,800 inhabitants, 318 square miles; the tenth, the Western Sporades, with 40,000 inhabitants, 169 square miles; the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, the Cyclades, (north, central, and south,) 91,500 inhabitants, 1176 square miles. Total inhabitants, 476,500; square miles, 10,312.

The British plenipotentiary presented his credentials to the president of Greece, Nov. 19, 1828; and Colonel Fabier, after his return from France, took upon him the organization of the Greek army. On the delivery, at Constantinople, of the protocol of the three powers, in January, 1829, a verbal answer was given by the Reis Effendi, that the Porte wished for peace. In July, Sir Robert Gordon, the British ambassador, and Count Guillimont, from France, arrived at Constantinople. The successes of Diebitsch, who had crossed the Balkan mountains, and was on his way towards Constantinople, compelled the Turkish plenipotentiaries to sign a treaty, which recognized formally, in the sixth article, the treaty of July 6, 1827. Peace between Russia and the Porte was signed at Adrianople, Sept. 14, 1829, and was ratified by the latter, six days afterwards.

Having brought down the affairs of Greece to the cessation of hostilities, it only remains to add a few particulars respecting the death of Capo d'Istria. This individual became exceedingly unpopular with the Greeks, from his supposed attachment to Russian interests, and the jealousy and impatience of restraint of the Greek chiefs. In the spring of 1831, the islands and province of Maina were in open resistance to the government. Miaulis, Mavrocordato, and Condurioti, demanded a convocation of the national assembly, the liberty of the press, and that certain state prisoners should be liberated. The insurgents took possession of Poros, and the Greek fleet lying in the harbor. In August, the troops of the president attacked the town, while the Russian fleet was standing in to attack the Greek fleet in the harbor. Admiral Miaulis then blew up his ships, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the Russians. The city of Poros, deserted by its inhabitants, was reduced to ashes. In the

mean time, the Mainots were actively engaged by land against the government.

The Russian fleet now appeared in the gulf of Coron; when Miaulis, who had been co-operating with the Mainots with a small squadron, destroyed it for the same reasons he had done with the ships at Poros.

October 9th, 1831, as the president was going to attend service at the church, he was assassinated by two men, who had repaired purposely to Napoli di Romania. One fired a pistol at the head of Capo d'Istria, and the other stabbed him with a Turkish dagger, when he fell dead on the spot. These persons were George the son, and Constantine the brother of Mavromichalis, who had been imprisoned since January. Constantine was immediately killed by the guards of the president, and George was detained in custody.

In 1832, the three powers obtained from the Grand Seignior a much more advantageous northern boundary line for Greece, than had been granted in 1830. The line is to run from the gulf of Volo, in the Ægean Sea, along a range of mountains, to the gulf of Arta, in the Adriatic. By this arrangement, Acarnania and Ætolia, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, are included in the kingdom of Greece—an acquisition of great importance, as it adds nearly 100,000, inhabitants, and almost 3,000 square miles to the new state. Besides the frontier line is more strongly marked, and will be easier of defence.

This accession to Greece was obtained from the Grand Seignior for 50,000,000 of Turkish piasters; which are to be deducted from the sum he had undertaken to pay to Russia.

The present population of Greece is estimated at from 635,000 to 900,000 souls. Its territory, including Acarnania, Ætolia, and the islands, is about 18,000 square miles, equal to about two-fifths of the state of New York, and about equal to it in population. The Morea, or Peloponnesus, comprises 7,227 square miles, and nearly equivalent in extent to the state of Massachusetts. The same treaty which fixed the boundary line, raised Otho, a Bavarian youth of seventeen years of age, to the throne of Greece; who carried with him 3,500 Bavarian soldiers, when, as stipulated, the French troops were to be withdrawn.

In the maintenance and aid of the new government, England, France, and Russia, have provided, and become responsible for, a loan of \$3,750,000; and have further agreed to furnish, at two instalments, an equal amount, should it be required for the good of the country. This loan is to be refunded in due time, and the payment of the interest is provided for.

King Otho, the new monarch of Greece, arrived at Napoli

di Romania, Feb. 6, 1833. There were, at this time, in the port of Napoli di Romania, several ships of war belonging to England, France, and Russia. On the following day, King Otho issued a proclamation, declaring his good intentions and well wishes for his adopted country, and engaging to protect the religion of the Greeks.

War between Russia and Turkey.

HOSTILITIES between Russia and Turkey commenced at a most fortunate period for the safety of Greece. The Porte breathing vengeance, and intent on exterminating the entire Greek population, would listen to no terms of accommodation offered by the Allied powers.

The battle of Navarino had, for the present, paralyzed the operations of Ibrahim Pacha; and after such a signal chastisement of the infidels by the Allied powers, they could not honorably withdraw their future protection to the Greeks, who had so long been left to contend alone against their cruel oppressors and murderers.

The Porte was led to consider that Russia secretly favored the Greek cause, and therefore took possession of Moldavia and Walachia, and put restrictions upon its maritime commerce. This was an open violation of the peace of Bucharest, on which, after an exchange of notes, the Russian minister left Constantinople; but through the exertions of the ministers of Austria and England, and the desire of the Emperor Alexander to preserve peace, the commencement of hostilities was avoided. Still the Porte refused to give any satisfaction to the Russian court. Things remained in this state till the Emperor Nicholas issued his ultimatum, May 14, 1826, when the Porte granted all the demands of the court of Russia, and promised that Moldavia and Walachia (where the Porte had derived, in three years, a revenue of 37,000,000 of piasters, to aid the prosecution of the war against Greece,) should be restored. October 6, 1826, at Ackerman, the Russian ultimatum was accepted. The Porte also surrendered all the fortresses in Asia to Russia. This treaty was executed in 1827.

The Sultan Mahmoud had now his hands full of other business. Having determined to reform his army, he began by exterminating the corps of Janisaries, which he effected after a bloody battle, in June, 1826; when he formed his army on the Euro-

pean system. The Sultan himself wore the European dress, and prohibited, throughout his empire, the calling of Christians, "dogs." This new system of reform led to a violent insurrection, and the loss of 6,000 houses in Constantinople.

In June, 1827, the Porte refused the intervention of Russia, France, and England, for the settlement of Greece; and seemed to bid defiance to the powers of Europe, by attempting to rally together all his subjects for war.

Russia declared war against Turkey, April 26, 1828. In that document the emperor declared, that he would not lay down his arms till he had obtained the following results, namely: the payment of all the expenses of the war; the acknowledgment of past treaties; inviolable liberty of the commerce of the Black Sea; the free navigation of the Bosphorus; and lastly, the fulfilment of the convention of July 6th, for the pacification of Greece.

The campaign opened May 7th, 1828, by the Russian army of 115,000 men passing the Pruth, under Count Wittgenstein, commander in chief. On the 19th, the Emperor's staff arrived before Brailow, of which Diebitsch was chief. June 15th, in attempting to carry this place by storm, the Russians lost 640 men killed, two major generals, and 1340 men wounded. June 20, Brailow surrendered to the Russians, on condition of the garrison being permitted to retire to Silistria. Two hundred and seventy-three cannon, besides a great quantity of balls and ammunition, were taken. Up to July 2d, the Russians had taken seven fortresses—Brailow, Matschin, Toultscha, Hirsova, Kustendji, Keuzgon, and Managalia. Toultscha was defended by 91 cannon, and 2,000 men.

August 7th, the Russian flotilla before Varna, attacked that of the Turks, and captured 14 vessels. On the 20th August, the Grand Vizier left Constantinople for the army. September 20th, the Seraskier of Widdin was defeated by General Geismar, with great loss, and compelled to retreat. About the same time, a Russian manifesto issued at St. Petersburg, ordered a new levy of four men out of every 500 of the population. Varna was carried by assault after a siege of two months, October 11th. Its garrison originally amounting to 22,000 men, was reduced to 6,000. This was the most important fortress of the Turks; and gave the Russians the command of the western coast of the Black Sea. On the 15th October, the blockade of the Dardanelles was announced officially by Admiral Heyden. In July, the Turks retired into the strongly fortified mountain position of Shumla, where they had more than 40,000 men, under the command of Hussein Pacha.

The principal Russian force, 45,000 men, under Field Marshal Wittgenstein, with the Emperor, approached Shumla, while the operations were going on before Varna. The Grand Vizier cautiously avoided giving battle to the Russians before Shumla. After the fall of Varna, the Russian army fell back from Shumla, October 15. Silistria was besieged in September, and raised November 10th. The heavy artillery of the Russians was abandoned. While these operations were going forward, General Paskewitch, after signal success in Persia, was advancing through Asiatic Turkey with a victorious army, and had gained a series of brilliant victories. By the 21st of September, the whole pachalic of Bajasid, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, was conquered. The approach of winter put an end to this campaign, in which the Russians lost many men by disease and want of supplies. The loss of horses was great. The results of the campaigns in Europe and Asia, were, two Turkish principalities taken, three pachalics, fourteen fortresses, and three castles. Notwithstanding these losses of the Turks, the Porte refused the terms of accommodation offered, before and during this campaign, by the Emperor Nicholas, through the British ambassador, Lord Heytesbury, viz. indemnification for the expense of the war, and security against future injuries and violations of treaties.

The Sultan prepared for a new campaign. General Diebitsch was appointed commander in chief of the Russian forces, Feb. 21, 1829. The siege of Silistria was renewed on the opening of the campaign, under the direction of Diebitsch, May 17th. The Turkish army, commanded by the Grand Vizier, attacked the Russians posted near the village of Eski Arnaoutlar, at three in the morning. The battle lasted till 8 in the evening, when the Turks retired with the loss of 2,000 killed. On the 17th of June, a great battle was fought at Koulevtcha, near Shumla—the Turks commanded by the Grand Vizier, and the Russians by Diebitsch. The battle was fought with great obstinacy; when European tactics prevailed over Turkish courage. The Turks lost 5,900 killed, a great number of prisoners, 43 pieces of cannon, 6 standards, all their ammunition wagons, baggage, &c.

June 30th, Silistria surrendered to the Russians. The garrison consisted of 8,000 men, and the armed inhabitants that were made prisoners of war; 220 pieces of cannon, 80 stand of colors, and 2 three-tailed pachas, were also taken, besides the whole of the Turkish flotilla.

Immediately after the surrender of the fortress of Silistria, Diebitsch commenced preparations to pass the river Kamteluck

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Massacre of the Greeks. Vol. 2, p. 356.



Battle of Navarino. Vol. 2. p. 356.

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and the Balkan mountains. On the 17th of July, the camp before Shumla was left, and by the 22d, Diebitsch had attained the summit of the Balkan. In descending these mountains, the Russians encountered a Turkish force of about 7,000 men, under the Seraskier Abduhl Rahman, and defeated him, taking 400 prisoners, 12 cannon, and 7 standards. On the 23d, Mesembria was captured, with 20 standards, 15 cannon, and 2,000 prisoners; and on the same day Achicli was captured, containing 14 pieces of cannon, ammunition, &c.

When the Russian army reached the shores of the Black Sea, it was able to co-operate with the fleet under Admiral Greig. On the 24th of June, Bourgas was taken, with ten pieces of cannon, and abundance of military stores. On the 25th, Aidos was captured, with the whole Turkish camp, 600 tents, 500 barrels of gunpowder, 4 standards, &c.

August 19th, the Russians approached Adrianople, and the next day took unresisted possession of the place, where negotiations commenced. Sept. 14, a treaty of peace was signed. Russia agreed to the restoration of Moldavia and Walachia, and all the towns occupied by them in Bulgaria and Rumelia. Moldavia was to have an independent administration and free trade; and the Russians freedom of commerce throughout the Ottoman empire, agreeably to former treaties; and free commerce and navigation of the Black Sea, to all nations at peace with Turkey. The Porte stipulated to pay as an indemnification to Russia, 1,500,000 ducats of Holland, for the losses of Russian subjects: and a further sum, as should be agreed upon, as an indemnity for the expenses incurred in the war. And the Porte acceded to the terms of Russia, Great Britain, and France, for the settlement of the affairs in Greece.

The indemnity for the expenses of the war, was arranged in a subsequent act, to be paid in instalments. On the first payment, the Russian troops were to retire from Adrianople; on the second, to repass the Balkan; and on the third, to repass the Danube; and on the fourth payment to evacuate the Turkish territory. So far, the Emperor Nicholas fulfilled his declaration and pledges to the Allies, on the commencement of the war—after having gained the objects for which it was undertaken. In this campaign, it has been stated, that the Russians lost 200,000 men and 20,000 horses.

It was stated in the papers at the time, that the Russian forces, at the commencement of the present campaign, amounted to 541,731 regular troops, and 146,601 irregulars, making a total of 688,332.

*England, from A. D. 1816, to the passing of the Reform Bill,
A. D. 1832.*

THE course of policy pursued by the British cabinet, mainly brought about the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France. Its accomplishment loaded England with an enormous debt, as much in opposition to the wishes of the majority of Englishmen, as the restoration of the Bourbons was contrary to the desire of the French nation. Since that event, the French have expelled the Bourbons; and the people of England have succeeded, after an arduous struggle, in the overthrow of toryism, or more properly speaking, of military despotism.

The glaring corruptions in the representation, and the abuses which existed in the "rotten-borough system," had long ago been clearly shown, by writers of great political knowledge; and many of England's best and purest patriots had labored to correct the abuses which existed in their representation. The liberal journalists exerted themselves incessantly to effect this object, and it was repeatedly urged in parliament with great force of eloquence.

The accession of William IV. who soon became the most popular monarch that had reigned in England, proved favorable to the cause of liberty. After the overthrow of the Duke of Wellington and his cabinet, William called a whig ministry, with Earl Grey at its head; and this eminent statesman, with his colleague, Brougham, carried through the long and ardently desired reform, which, eradicating the "rotten boroughs," provided for the free and equal representation of the people of England in parliament.

The measures of the English government having a most important bearing on the general policy of Europe, it will be requisite here to take a hasty glance at the public measures of British statesmen, more especially of those who have so essentially aided the new and more enlarged line of policy, in accordance with the spirit of the age, and opposed to the "slavish and despotic monarchies of Europe."

In the 1820, George III. died, January 29th, at the age of 82, after a reign of three-score years, the longest in the British annals; when George IV. who had been regent since February 3, 1811, succeeded to the throne of Great Britain. Earl Liverpool was nominated by the prince regent, first lord of the treasury, Jan. 9, 1812, and continued in office till 1827. His

prudence and moderation at home, were strikingly contrasted with the course pursued by Castlereagh, minister of the foreign department. This latter minister destroyed himself by suicide, August 12, 1822. On his interment in Westminster Abbey, popular indignation against his memory was strongly exhibited. And that this was not without reason, will appear by a reference to his many unfeeling and tyrannical measures, and his violations of the constitution. We are here constrained to offer a passing remark, on the public character of this minister, whose true reputation is not generally known in this country. Castlereagh was hated for his tyranny; he was the dupe of courts, and the betrayer of the people. The part he took in the congress of Vienna, in parcelling out and trafficking away the rights of weaker states, to build up a military despotism throughout Europe, loaded him with the execrations of all those people whom he had so basely sold. His death was considered in England as a happy event for the cause of liberty, which his measures had for so many years crushed. It will be seen, that the foreign policy of England underwent a complete change after his death.

In 1816, the income tax was taken off from personal estate, capital, and colonial possession. This was but shifting the burden of taxation from landholders to the working classes, those great consumers of the necessaries of life; who were now reduced to the greatest state of suffering. England for a time, surmounted all these difficulties, and even greatly increased her foreign trade. This kept the manufacturing districts quiet, as long as they were well employed.

In the month of August, 1816, a British squadron of five sail of the line and five frigates, under the command of Lord Exmouth, bombarded Algiers, and destroyed the Algerine shipping, batteries, and magazines: when the Dey agreed to the total abolition of Christian slavery, and the release of all Christian captives in his dominions. A few months after this defeat the Dey was strangled, when piracy again flourished, till the French afterwards conquered this piratical city.

The distresses in England led the populace to offer public insult, and assail the prince regent, in 1817, on his return from parliament to Carlton House. February 3, a royal message and accompanying documents were communicated to parliament, giving information of the existence of societies, combinations, &c. in the metropolis, and throughout the kingdom, dangerous to the constitution; and that insurrections had been planned. In consequence of this information, which was greatly exaggerated, the ministry took a high-handed course. Lord

Sidmouth introduced a bill into the house of lords, for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, which passed into a law ; and Castlereagh was successful in carrying one to suppress debating societies, and unlawful organizations ; and a third bill was passed, for punishing, with severity, all attempts to corrupt the army and navy.

Sir F. Burdett, May 20th, again brought forward the question of parliamentary reform, in which he was aided by Sir Samuel Romilly. It was, however, lost, the votes being 265 against 77.

1818. One of the first measures, after the opening of parliament, was the restoration of the liberties of the people, by the repeal of the habeas corpus suspension act, accompanied by a bill of indemnity to screen the ministers for such a high-handed act. Sir Samuel Romilly declared, on the second reading of the indemnity bill, "that it annihilated the rights of individuals, and took all legal remedies from those who had suffered by an irresponsible and unconstitutional exercise of authority."

In August, 1819, there was a meeting at Manchester, to discuss the question of parliamentary reform. It should here be stated that spies, in the employment of government, had gone about the country, inflaming the minds of the people ; and these same wretches, when detected, were shielded behind the power of the ministry. This meeting at Manchester was of a peaceable character, and was estimated at 50,000 souls, including the wives and children of the petitioners. There was no appearance or intention of riot, nor were there any arms among them. Mr. Hunt was the chairman, and during his speech, the assembly was charged by the military, and many lives were sacrificed in a most inhuman manner. This nefarious transaction roused the indignation of the British populace. The distresses about this time, in the manufacturing districts, were heavily felt. The national debt, by a continuance of twenty-three years' war, had increased to about 900,000,000 pounds. Strong measures were taken to prevent public discussions. Ireland, at this time, presented nothing but a scene of conflict and misery.

Earl Grey, in the house of lords, moved for an inquiry into the conduct of the Manchester magistrates, but was defeated ; and a similar attempt was made in the house of commons, and this also was voted down. The subject was renewed before the recess of parliament ; but these false guardians of public liberty refused to inquire into this most flagrant outrage on the rights of the people : instead of which, the ministers intro-

duced several bills that became laws, to be continued five years. These have gone by the designation of the six acts. They were: 1st, a bill to take away the right of traversing, in cases of misdemeanors. 2d, for punishing any person found guilty, on a second conviction of libel, by fine, imprisonment, or banishment for life. 3d, for preventing seditious meetings. 4th, to prevent private military trainings. 5th, the application of the severe stamp system to pamphlets under two sheets, and a more rigorous punishment of libels and seditious writings. 6th, a bill giving magistrates the power of entering houses by night, or by day, for the purpose of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes.

1820. The death of George III. this year, produced no difference in the public measures; although the aspect of England was quite changed by the great increase of trade, and the diminution of taxes, and by better harvests. The renewal of specie payments, and the increasing value of paper currency, was highly favorable to manufactures. The country was now recovering from the heavy burden of war, in which she had so long been engaged.

A daring conspiracy to assassinate ministers, called the Cato street conspiracy, was detected, for which Thistlewood and four of his companions paid the forfeit of their lives, and four others concerned were transported for life to Botany Bay.

July 19, 1821. The splendid coronation of George IV. took place at Westminster Abbey.

On the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, better known as Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning was called to the cabinet, as secretary of foreign affairs, Sept. 16th, 1822. One of the first measures of Canning, was to check the fanatic influence of the French in Spain. In 1823, England allowed her subjects to aid the Greeks, and even acknowledged their right of blockade. With the republics of South America, she formed treaties of alliance; and in 1825, formally acknowledged the independence of the South American states.

In the years 1825 and 1826, the commercial difficulties were great, occasioned by the speculation in foreign loans, and in the most costly undertakings, which led to bankruptcies, and gave an unusual shock to men of business. "Bankruptcies spread like a vast fog over England, America, France, and Germany, at the same moment. But the vigor of England is incalculable."* Seventy-five banks broke in the same number of days; and 255 joint-stock companies, that, a week before,

* Croly's Life of George IV.

were in high credit, and ready for vast undertakings, were in the Gazette. And yet after such sweeping desolation, in another year confidence was re-established, commerce revived, and public business went forward with renewed activity and confidence.

The numerous failures of banks, threatened the laboring classes with ruin, from the derangement of the currency. To remedy this alarming state of things, government immediately ordered the coinage of sovereigns with all possible despatch. These were struck off at the rate of 100,000 a day, and supplied to the country. Such was the activity of the mint on this occasion, that for one week, 150,000 sovereigns per day were coined. The bank of England issued temporarily, two pound notes. Thus the distress of the country was in a great measure relieved.

In 1826, April 4th, England united with the court of St. Petersburg to compel the Porte to cease hostilities with the Greeks. Mr. Canning was appointed prime minister April 12th, 1827, and died in the month of August of the same year. His policy was crowned by the recognition of the South American states, the maintenance of the independence of Portugal, and the treaty signed at London, July 6th, for the settlement of the war in Greece, which treaty led to the battle of Navarino.*

Lord Goderich succeeded as first lord of the treasury. He retired from office January 8th, when the Duke of Wellington was made premier, although the duke had declared in parliament, the year before, his entire unfitness for high civil office. In April, a Catholic relief bill was passed.

George IV. King of Great Britain, died June 26th, 1830, and was succeeded by his second brother, the Duke of Clarence, under the title of William IV. The administration of the Duke of Wellington was overthrown, November 16th, and a few days after, a new ministry was formed, with Earl Grey at its head, and Brougham lord chancellor.

The Duke of Wellington's overthrow was ascribed to his resistance of retrenchment, and his apprehension of popular riots, and opposition to parliamentary reform. The political obstinacy of the Duke arose out of his ignorance and contempt of the people, and a blind confidence in his own supremacy and power, and a thorough disregard of public opinion, while

* Mr. Brougham said of Mr. Canning, in the British house of commons, January 29th, 1828, "That great man fell a premature sacrifice to his struggles for the establishment of a noble system of policy; and it was to be hoped, that the efforts he made, crowned as they were with success, might be followed up."

events at home and abroad perplexed him. The continental monarchs of the Holy Alliance had looked to the tory ministry, with Wellington at its head, for security and protection. What must have been the sensation in the courts of those countries, when intelligence was received of the Duke's overthrow and resignation?

The whig ministry, with Earl Grey at its head, was pledged to support the reform bill.* This ministry took upon them a great task—an arduous responsibility. That gross abuses abounded in the British government, no one could deny; and reform was demanded by the united voice of the nation. Mr. Brougham was pledged to parliamentary reform, the reduction of expenses and sinecures, and against negro slavery.

The ministerial plan of reform, by Earl Grey and his cabinet, was brought forward by Lord John Russell, on the 1st of March; and after a debate of seven days, leave was given to bring in three bills for reforming the representation of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The bill was carried, after a debate of two days, to a second reading, March 22d, by a vote of 302 to 301; but was lost on the third reading, the vote being 291 for the ministry, 299 against it.

The King dissolved the parliament in person, on the 22d of April. In the speech delivered on that occasion, William said, "I have been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people," &c.

The new parliament, of which a large number was pledged to support reform, assembled June 14th, 1831, and was opened by the King, who recommended the question of a reform in the representation, to their earliest and most attentive consideration. On the 24th, the reform bill was again brought forward by Lord John Russell, in the house of commons, and passed its second reading July 6th, by a vote of 367 to 235, and to a third reading Sept. 22d, by a vote of 349 to 236. The bill was carried up to the house of lords, and on October 8th, rejected by a vote of 199 to 158. Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of the same month.

The rejection of the reform bill in the house of lords, on the 8th, led to strong manifestations of popular fury against the nobility, especially those who had voted against the bill. At Nottingham and Derby, as well as other parts of the kingdom, riots commenced soon as intelligence of the defeat of the bill

* In 1797, Lord Grey made a motion for reform. Its failure caused that great statesman, Fox, to withdraw from parliament, which was by some judged to be a dereliction of duty.

was received. On the 29th, 30th, and 31st, dreadful riots took place at Bristol—many of the public buildings and an immense amount of property were destroyed; ninety persons were killed and wounded at that time; afterwards five were executed, and many were sentenced to transportation. The total damage done, during this riot at Bristol, was estimated at 300,000 pounds sterling.

Parliament was opened again, December 6th, by the King; and on the 12th, Lord John Russell, (a third time,) introduced a new bill for reform, very similar to the former, and declared to be "equally efficient." It was read the second time, on the 18th, by a vote of 324 to 162. On March 23d, it was brought up for a third reading, and passed by a vote of 355 to 239. The bill passed to a second reading, in the house of lords, April 13th, by a vote of 184 to 175. An amendment to defeat the bill was introduced by Lord Lyndhurst, which passed May 8th, by a vote of 151 to 116; and on May 12th it was lost by a majority of 40. Earl Grey advised the King to create a sufficient number of new peers to secure the success of the bill, tendering his resignation as the alternative, which was accepted. On the resignation of ministers, great public excitement followed. The political unions, organized throughout the country, determined to refuse the payment of taxes, and demanded that the ministers should be reinstated. Earl Grey had stated, that he would stand or fall by this bill; and that nothing less efficient should be supported by him.

The excitement was so great in Birmingham, that 100,000 persons assembled suddenly and spontaneously, and forwarded an immediate express to London. There was a firm determination to have the reform bill carried, or pay no taxes; and this determination was echoed from every part of the kingdom. There was no riot; the people had risen in their collective strength, to assert their just rights. Bursts of indignant feelings were directed against the bishops and nobility. The Duke of Wellington failed in his attempts to form a ministry; when Earl Grey and his colleagues were reinstated in office May 18th, with the assurance from the King, of having a sufficient number of peers created, to secure the passing of the bill. When the lords were apprized of this fact, they resolved to let it pass.

June 14th, the bill passed a third reading, by a vote of 106 to 22, and the royal assent was given by commission, on the 17th of the same month. It is worthy of remark, that not one of the bishops was present on the final passage of the bill. In answering the forebodings and objections made to it by the lords, Earl

Grey said—"That the peace, power, and prosperity of England would all be increased by the reform."

By it, 22 new boroughs, in England, are to send two new members each; 19 new boroughs, one each; 62 new members are added to the English county members; three to the county members, and two to the borough members of Wales; five to the Scotch members; and five to the Irish members. By this reform bill, 56 of the old boroughs, called rotten or decayed boroughs, have been wholly disfranchised; and 30 boroughs, that before sent two members each, are to send but one. The united borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which before sent four members, is to send but two.

County members under the reform act.—Formerly, each county sent two members, except Yorkshire, which returned four—total 82. The counties in Wales, one each—total 12. By the reform act, the number of the county members of England is raised to 144; those of Wales to 15. And 26 English counties are divided, and return four members each; 7 counties three each; the ridings of Yorkshire, two each; and the six remaining counties, two each; and the Isle of Wight, one. Of the 12 Welch counties, three send two members each; the remaining nine, one each.

The reform act also extends to the right of voting, in the election of members for cities and boroughs, to every male person of full age, not subject to any legal incapacity, who occupies, as owner or tenant, any house, warehouse, shop or building, of not less than ten pounds yearly value: provided such person pays assessed taxes and poor rates. And in the election of county members, the elective franchise extends to every male person who shall be in actual occupation of a freehold for life, or of lands or tenements of copyhold, of the clear yearly value of not less than ten pounds. In England, a county member of parliament must possess real property to the amount of 600 pounds per annum; and a borough member, 300 pounds. But in Scotland, no such qualification is requisite.

Lord John Russell, in his speech on introducing the first reform bill, (March 1, 1831,) made the following statement respecting the number of voters that would be added by that bill: number added in towns and boroughs in England already sending members, 110,000; electors of towns in England sending members for the first time, 50,000; electors in London, who will obtain the right of voting, 95,000; increase of electors in Scotland, 60,000; in Ireland, perhaps 40,000; increase in the counties of England, 100,000. "It is my opinion, therefore," said Lord Russell, "that the whole measure will add to the constitu-

ency of the commons house of parliament, about half a million of persons, and these all connected with the property of the country, having a valuable stake amongst us, and deeply interested in our institutions."

A sufficient number of booths are to be prepared, so that not more than 600 electors are to poll at one compartment. The polling to continue, if required, for two successive days only; for seven hours on the first day, and for eight hours on the second: but the poll is not on any account, to be kept open later than 4 o'clock, on the second day.

July 13. The Scotch reform bill passed to a third reading in the English house of lords; and on the 30th of the same month, the Irish reform bill passed in the English house of lords. August 13th, the Irish tythe composition bill was read a third time and passed, in the English house of lords. On the 16th of August, the parliament of England was prorogued to the 16th of October.

The successful issue of a reform in parliament has been achieved mainly through the perseverance, wisdom, and stern consistency of Henry Brougham, who was, for many years, the leader of the opposition in the house of commons,—a firm and decided enemy to the measures of the aristocrats and leagued despots. For more than twenty years, he has fostered and guided the spirit of reform; and we may here, with great propriety, mention some of his labors in this great cause.

In 1811, he introduced a bill into the British parliament, declaring all dealing in slaves, by British subjects, a felony, and punishable as such. This bill became a law, and by it was first recognized the principle, that the traffickers in human flesh are pirates, and ought to be treated as such. And the subject of slavery, as it exists in the British West Indies, has been repeatedly brought by him before the nation.

In 1816, he commenced his public efforts in favor of popular education. He then introduced into parliament, a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of education among the lower orders. This motion was carried, and an education committee of forty members, with Mr. Brougham at their head, was appointed. The labors of this committee, or rather of its indefatigable chairman, were immense; and for three years they continued to spread *facts* before the British people. The exposition of corruptions in the management of trust funds for grammar schools, was no small part of their labor.

In 1819, he moved for instituting a committee of inquiry into the condition of charitable endowments, to complete the work which the education committee had begun—a measure which

the ministers were unable successfully to withstand, and which, notwithstanding their continued opposition, produced important results.

In 1820, he thought the time had arrived, in which to bring forward the grand measure which he had at first contemplated. He accordingly came out with a bill to extend the blessings of education to the poor, by the establishment of common schools. But in this he did not accomplish his benevolent designs. He published his "Practical Observations on Popular Education," and to his sole suggestion, "the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," whose publications are now scattered far and wide, owed its origin.

His next labor, greater than all the twelve labors of Hercules himself, was directed to a reform of the English common law, and cleansing the courts of justice of the rubbish which a barbarous age had left behind, and time had rendered intolerable. His efforts here, as elsewhere, were powerful and irresistible. In 1828, he introduced his celebrated motion, that an address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would issue a commission for inquiring into the defects occasioned by time or otherwise, in the laws of this realm, and into the measures necessary for removing the same. Upon this motion, his speech, delivered in the house of commons February 28, 1828, comprises, in the printed report, 139 pages. He lays open the whole existing condition of the common law in a masterly manner, equalled only by the wisdom displayed in the remedies proposed. The motion was carried, after an amendment agreed to by him for the sake of conciliation, had limited its operations to the courts of justice, and the law of real property. The commissioners appointed, reported in 1829, and their reports were elaborate and valuable, and have already been in some measure acted upon.

As lord chancellor of Great Britain, Brougham's labors have been eminent. He has greatly expedited the administration of justice in his court, and cleared the docket of cases which had, for a great length of time, been accumulating.

Thus it appears how much England, as well as the whole civilized world, owes to the labors of this one individual in the cause of freedom and of man. He has directed his exertions to the right quarter. To education he looked, as the foundation upon which the liberties of a nation rest. He has well said, that "he feared not any unconstitutional attack on the liberties of the people of England, from the Duke of Wellington. There was another person abroad, more powerful than the Duke—the

schoolmaster was abroad."* And in conclusion, it is gratifying to think that Brougham still lives, and that his exertions in favor of liberty will cease only with his life.

From a list of the members of the new parliament, it appears there were 514 reformers, and 144 conservatives—thus giving to the ministry a majority of 370.

This list of the members, given in the broad pages of the London Times, must have been a gladdening and a heart-cheering sight to the reformers, and to the great body of the English nation, whose hopes had so long been blasted by a profligate ministry, aided by the most brilliant and seducing powers of eloquence. The oratory of Burke and Pitt had so fascinated and bewildered many understandings, both at home and abroad, as to prevent them from judging aright on the justice and feasibility of a measure that had so long been urged by many of England's wisest patriots.

* In a speech delivered in the British house of commons, Jan. 29, 1828.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

- 1 Diplomatics ought not to be confounded with *diplomacy*, which means a knowledge of the interests of different states, and the policy of foreign courts, &c., by means of ambassadors, envoys, consuls, &c.
- 2 The first that undertook to teach this science in a university, was the celebrated CORNING, a professor at Helmstadt. His programme or prospectus was published in 1660. GODFREY AGHENWALL, a professor at Gottingen, 1748, is regarded as the inventor of the name.
- 3 Before this time Pope Leo X. had paid some attention to the reformation of the calendar. A letter which he wrote on the subject to Henry VIII. of England, may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 119.
- 4 From the year 1793 to the end of 1805, the French, by a decree of the national convention of the 5th of October, adopted a method of computing by what they called the *republican year*. It began at midnight of the autumnal equinox, viz. the 21st or 22d of September. It was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, followed by five or six supplementary days. This innovation, however, ceased on the 31st of December, 1805.
- 5 It is to this circumstance that the term *ÆRA* owes its origin. It is not a classical word, but was first used by the Spaniards; and is merely the initials or first letters of *Anno Erat Regnante Augusto*. T.
- 6 This calculation, however, was incorrect, inasmuch as nineteen exact solar revolutions amount only to 6939 days, 14 hours, 26', 15"; while 235 true lunations, contained in the cycle of 19 years, only give 6939 days, 16 hours, 31', 45". The lunar cycle consequently exceeded the 19 solar revolutions by 2 hours, 5', 30". This error was corrected at the reformation of the calendar, by Gregory XIII.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.—PERIOD I.

- 1 The name of *Alemanni*, erroneously applied afterwards to all the German nations, was originally restricted to a particular tribe, which we here designate by the name of the *Alemanni*, to distinguish them from the modern Germans (*Allemands*.)
- 2 The *Guttones* of Pliny, the *Gothones* or *Gotones* of Tacitus, and the *Gythones* of Ptolemy, whom these authors place in the northern part of ancient Germany, near the Vistula, were most probably one and the same nation with the Goths; and ought not to be confounded with the *Getae*, a people of ancient Dacia.
- 3 We find a Gothic bishop, named Theophilus, among the bishops who signed the acts of the first Council of Nice. Ulphilas, a Gothic bishop towards the middle of the fourth century, translated the Bible into the

language of his nation, making use of the Greek and Roman characters. His *Four Gospels*, preserved in the Codex Argenteus, in the library at Upsal, is the most ancient specimen we have of the German language, of which the Gothic is one of the principal dialects. Vide *Fragments of Ulfilas*, published by M. Zahn. 1805.

- 4 The identity of the Franks with these German tribes, may be shown from a passage of St. Jerome, as well as by the *Table Peutingerienne*, ou *Theodosienne*, so called, because it is supposed to have been drawn up under the Emperor Theodosius, about the beginning of the fifth century; though M. Mannert, in his Treatise *De Tab. Peut. ætate*, has proved that it is as old as the third century; and that the copy preserved in the library at Vienna, and published by M. de Scheyl, is but an incorrect copy, which he attributes to a monk of the thirteenth century. From this *Table*, it appears that, in the third century, the name *Francia* was given to that part of Germany which is situate in the Lower Rhine in Westphalia; and that the Bructeri, the Chauci, Chamavi, Cherusci, Ampsivarii, &c. were the same as the Franks. The names of *Salians* and *Ripuarians*, evidently taken from the situation of some of these tribes on the Rhine, the Yesel, or Saal, appear to have been given them by the Romans, and were afterwards retained by them.
- 5 Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. 31 c. 2. *Jornandes De Rebus Geticis*, cap. 35. This latter historian gives the following portrait of Attila, King of the Huns. "His stature was short, his chest broad, his head rather large, his eyes small, his beard thin, his hair grey, his nose flat, his complexion dark and hideous, bearing evidence of his origin. He was a man of much cunning, who fought by stratagem before he engaged in battles."
- 6 We may judge of the extent of the kingdom of the Burgundians by the signatures of twenty-five bishops, who were present at the Council of Epao, held by Sigismund, King of Burgundy, in 517. These bishops were the following: Besancon, Langres, Autun, Chalons, Lyon, Valence, Orange, Vaison, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Sisteron, Apt. Gap, Die, St. Paul-trois-Châteaux, Viviers, Vienne, Embrun, Grenoble, Geneva, Tarantaise, Avenche, Windische, Martigny in the Bas-Valais, Taurentum in Provence. Vide Labbei, *Acta Concil.* vol. iv. p. 1573, 1581.
- 7 Many kings and chiefs of different nations marched under his command Jornandes (cap. 38.) observes—"As for the rest, a rabble of kings, if they may be so called, and leaders of divers nations; they waited like satellites the orders of Attila; and if he gave but a wink or a nod, every one attended with fear and trembling, and executed his commands without a murmur. Attila alone, like a king of kings, had the supreme charge and authority over them all."
- 8 The Salian Franks are distinct from the Ripuarian, who formed a separate kingdom, the capital of which was Cologne. There were also, about the end of the fifth century, particular kings of the Franks at Terouane, Marns, and Cambray, all of whom were subdued by Clovis, shortly before his death in 511.
- 9 Clovis took from the Alemanns a part of their territories, of which he formed a distinct province, known afterwards by the name of *France on the Rhine*. They retained, however, under their hereditary chiefs, Alsace, with the districts situated beyond the Rhine, and bounded on the north by the Oos, the Entz, the Necker, the Muhr, the Wernitz and the Jagst. Vide Schœpflin, *Alsacia Illust.* vol. i. p. 630

- 10 The Visigoths then retained no other possessions in Gaul than Septimania, or Languedoc. Their territories between the Rhone, the Alps, and the Mediterranean, passed to the Ostrogoths, as the reward for services which the latter had rendered them in their wars with the Franks.
- 11 Scheidingen, on the left bank of the Unstrut, about three leagues from Naumburg on the Saal, is supposed to have been the residence of the ancient kings of Thuringia. Venantius Fortunatus, the friend of queen Radegonde, a princess of Thuringia, gives a poetical description of it in his elegy *De Exeidia Thuringiæ*.
- 12 Belisarius was recalled from Italy by the Emperor Justinian, in 549. He afterwards incurred the displeasure of the court of Constantinople; but what modern writers have asserted, that he was blind, and reduced to beg his bread, is destitute of foundation. Maschow, *Geschichte der Teutschen*.
- 13 Agathias, lib. 1. p. 17, asserts, that the Goths abandoned the nation of the Alemanns to the Franks, in order to interest the latter in their cause against the Greeks. The same was the case with that part of Gaul, situate between the Alps, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, which pertained to the Ostrogoths, and which they ceded to the Franks, on condition that they would never furnish supplies to the Greeks.
- 14 The name of the Bavarians does not occur in history before the middle of the sixth century, when Jordanes, *De Reb. Geticis*, and Venantius Fortunatus, in his poems, speak of them for the first time. Mannert, *Geschichte Bajoariens*, p. 108, reckons the Bavarians an association of several German tribes; the Heruli, Rugians, Turcilingians, and Scyrians, all originally emigrating from the shores of the Baltic. The new settlements which they formed in Upper Germany, comprehended that part of ancient Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, which lies between the Danube, the Lech, and the Noce in Pannonia, and the Tyrol. They were governed by kings or chiefs, who, from the year 595, were dependants on the Frankish crown.
- 15 Clovis left the Alemanns, after their defeat, a considerable part of their territories under hereditary chiefs, who acknowledged the superiority of the Frankish kings. Such of the Alemanns as Theodoric King of Italy then received into a part of Rhetia and Noricum, continued dependants on the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, till the decay of that monarchy, near the middle of the sixth century, when they became subject to the dominion of the Franks.
- 16 Tacitus *De Moribus German.*, cap. 2. It was the prerogative of freemen to have the honor of bearing arms. Even bishops and ecclesiastics, when admitted into the national assemblies, and to the rights and privileges of freemen, never failed to claim this military dignity; and occupied, like others, their ranks in the army.
- 17 We find among the German nations, from the remotest times, the distinction into *nobles*, *freemen*, and *serfs*; a distinction which they still preserved, in their new settlements in the Roman empire.
- 18 Called Ordeals. Besides the trial by *single combat*, there were others by *hot iron*, *boiling or cold water*, *the cross*, &c. Vide Ducange Gloss.
- 19 The Goths, Vandals, Suevi, and Alans, were already Christians, when they settled within the bounds of the Western Empire. They followed the doctrines of Arius, which they had imbibed in the east; and, which the Suevi of Galicia abandoned for the orthodox creed under their King Cariaric, about 531; and the Visigoths of Spain, under their King Recarede, in 589. The Lombards of Italy were, at first, Arians, but became Catholics, under their King Agilulphus, in 602. The Van.

- dals and Ostrogoths, on the contrary, having persisted in Arianism; this perseverance may be numbered among the causes that hastened the destruction of their monarchy, both in Italy and Africa. As to the Burgundians they did not embrace Christianity till after their establishment in Gaul. Their example was soon followed by the Franks, who likewise protected the dissemination of the orthodox faith among the German nations, settled in their dominions beyond the Rhine. The Christian religion was introduced, about the end of the sixth century, among the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, by some Benedictine monks, whom Pope Gregory I. had sent there. Ethelbert, King of Kent, was the first of the Anglo-Saxon kings that embraced Christianity, by the persuasion, it is said, of his queen, Bertha, daughter of Charibert I. King of Paris.
- 20 The possessions of the Ostrogoths in Gaul, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Franks about 536.
- 21 Eginhard, *Vita Carol. Mag.*, cap. 11. It seems then an error in history, to designate those princes as a race of kings, who had all degenerated into a state of imbecility or idiocy. (Of this opinion was the Abbe Vertot, who endeavors to rescue these monarchs from this generally received imputation. Vide *Memoir de l'Academie*, vol. iv. T.)
- 22 This same St. Boniface, in 744, induced the archbishops of France to receive, after his example, the pallium from Pope Zacharias, acknowledging the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Roman See. This acknowledgment of the Romish supremacy, had already taken place in England, in 601 and 627, when the archbishops of Canterbury and York, received the pontifical pallium. Vide Bede. l. i. c. 1. Eccles.
- 23 It is alleged that state politics had no small share in favoring this zeal. Not only did the emperors reckon, by abolishing images, to weaken the excessive power of the monks who dominated over the Byzantine court; but they regarded also the destruction of this heretical worship, as the only means of arresting the persecutions which the Mahometans then exercised against the Christians in the east, whom they treated as idolaters, on account of their veneration for images.
- 24 The name *Exarchate* was then given to the province of Ravenna, because it, as well as the Pentapolis, was immediately subject to the exarch as governor-general; while the other parts of Grecian Italy were governed by delegates, who ruled in the name and authority of the exarch.
- 25 It was during his sojourn at Chiersi that Pope Stephen II. gave the decisions that we find in Sirmondi, *Concil. Gall.* vol. II. 16. Anastasius (in Muratori, vol. III. p. 168, 186) mentions Chiersi as the place of this donation, which he also says was signed by Pepin and his two sons. This prospective grant is even attested by the letter which Stephen II. addressed to Pepin and his sons, immediately on his return to Rome, exhorting them to fulfil their engagements without delay.
- 26 The Pope, in his letters to Pepin, calls this donation an augmentation of the Romish dominion; an extension of the Romish territory, &c. Cenni, vol. I. p. 85, 124. Besides the city and duchy of Rome, Anastasius mentions various former grants of territories to the Romish Church. The same author informs us, that the original of Pepin's donation existed in his time in the archives of the Romish See, and he has recorded the places gifted to the church.
- 27 Different interpretations have been given to the word Saracens, which the Greeks, and after them the Latins, have applied to the Arabs. Some explain it by *robbers* or *brigands*, and others by *Oriental*, or natives

- of the east. Casiri. Bibl. Arab. Hist. vol. II. p. 19. Some pretend to derive this appellation from the Arabic word *Sarrag*, or its plural *Sarragin*, which means, men on horseback, or cavaliers.
- 28 We may judge of the ferocity of the Arabs at this time, from a passage of Rasis, an Arabic author, in Casiri, (Bibl. Arab. Hist. vol. ii. p. 322.) Muza, in a fit of jealousy, had caused Tarec to be bastinadoed at Toledo, and yet continued to employ him as a general. The caliph, to avenge Tarec, caused Muza to be bastinadoed in his turn, when he came to Damascus to lay at his royal feet the spoils of all Spain. His son, whom he had left governor of Spain, was killed by order of the caliph. Such was the fate of the Arabic conquerors of Spain.
- 29 The Abbassides took their name from Abbas, the paternal uncle of Mahomet, of whom they were descended. The Omniades were descended from Ommiah, a more distant relation of the prophet.
- 30 Don Pelago, the king whom the Spaniards regard as the founder of this new state, is a personage no less equivocal than the Pharamond of the Franks. Isidorus Pagensis, a Spanish author of that time, published by Sandoval in his collection in 1634, knew nothing of him. He extols, on the contrary, the exploits of Theodemir, whom the Visigoths, according to the Arabic authors quoted by Casiri, had chosen as their king after the unfortunate death of Roderic. The chronicle of Alphonso III., and that of Albayda, which are commonly cited in favor of Don Pelago, are both as late as the beginning of the tenth century, and relate things so marvellous of this pretended founder of the kingdom of Leon, that it is impossible to give credit to them.
- 31 This dynasty, after the year 827, effected the conquest of the greater part of Sicily from the Greeks; but they were deprived of it, in 940, by the Fatimites, who were succeeded in the following century by the Zerides in Africa. (Vide Period IV. under Spain.)
- 32 The celebrated Gerbert, born in Auvergne, and afterwards Pope Silvester II., was among the first that repaired to Spain, about the middle of the tenth century, to study mathematics under the Arabs. Numbers afterwards imitated his example.
- 32 There is preserved in the library of the Escorial in Spain, 1851 Arabic MSS. which escaped the conflagration of 1671, and which have been amply described by Casiri in his Bibl. Arab. Hisp.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.—PERIOD II.

- 1 The immense intrenchments or fortifications of the Avars, called *Rhin-gos* by the Franks, were destroyed by Charlemagne, to the number of nine. A part of Pannonia and the territory of the Avars he left in possession of the native chiefs, and the Slavian princes, who acknowledged themselves his vassals and tributaries. The Slavi, the Moravians, and Bulgarians, seem to have then seized on a part of the territories of the Avars lying beyond the Danube and the Theysa. It was on account of this war, that Charlemagne established the Eastern March (Austria) against the Avars, and that he conceived also the project of joining the Danube and the Rhine, by a canal drawn from the river Altmühl to Rednitz.
- 2 Charles took the oath in the Teutonic language, Louis in the Romance language; the forms of which have been preserved by the Abbe Nithard, a cousin of these princes. We may observe, that this is the most ancient monument of the Romance language; out of which has sprung the modern French.

- 3 This treaty, which has been preserved by the author of the *Annals of St. Bertin*, mentions all the countries and principal places assigned to each of the brothers. It forms a valuable document in the geography of the middle ages.
- 4 As an example of this, it is said that a nobleman of Surbia, named Etichon, brother to the Empress Judith, quarrelled with his own son, and refused to see him, because, in his estimation, he had debased himself by receiving as fiefs, from Louis the Gentle, a certain number of his own lands, situated in Upper Bavaria.
- 5 The Danes and the Swedes dispute with each other the honor of these pretended heroes, who signalized themselves in the Norman piracies. It is without doubt, that all the tribes of ancient Scandinavia, in their turn, took part in these expeditions. According to the Monk of St. Gall, it was not till about the end of the war of Charlemagne with the Avars, i. e. 796, that the Normans began to infest the coasts of the Frankish empire. In order to stop their incursions, Charles constructed a fleet, and stationed in the harbors and mouths of rivers, troops and guard-ships; precautions which were neglected by his successors.
- 6 The beautiful palaces which Charles had constructed at Nimeguen and Aix-la-Chapelle, were burnt to the ground by the Normans in 881-2. At the same time, they plundered Liege, Maestricht, Tongres, Cologne, Bonn, Zulpich, Nuys, and Treves.
- 7 Nester, a monk of Kiovia, and the first annalist of Russia, about the end of the eleventh century, says the Russians, whom he calls also *Waregues*, came from Scandinavia, or the country of the Normans. He assures us, that it was from them that the state of Novogorod took the name of Russia. The author of the annals of St. Bertin, the first that mentions the Russians (*Rhos*) A. D. 839, assigns Sweden as their original country. Lioprand also, bishop of Cremona, in the court of Constantinople by Otho the Great, attests, in his history, that the Greeks gave the name of *Russians* to the people, who in the west are called Normans. The Finns, Laplanders, and Estonians, at this day, call the Swedes, *Roots*, *Routzi*, or *Rootslane*. It is likely that from them, being nearest neighbors of the Swedes, this name passed to the Slavonian tribes. Hence it would seem, that it is in Sweden that we must look for Russia, prior to the times of Ruric; in the same way, as ancient France is to be found in Westphalia and Hesse, before the days of Clodion, and the founding of the new monarchy of the Franks in Gaul.
- 8 The Orkney Isles, the Hebrides, the Shetlands, and the Isles of Man, passed, in course of time, from the dominion of the Norwegians to that of the Scottish kings, while the Faroe Isles remained constantly annexed to the kingdom of Norway.
- 9 Olaus II., King of Norway, had rendered the Icelanders tributaries, but they soon renewed their independence; and it was not till the time of Habo V. and Magnus VII., in 1261 and 1264, that they submitted to the dominion of Norway, when the republican government of the island was suppressed. Iceland, when a republic, furnished the annalists of the north. The most distinguished of these is SNORRE STURLESON, who wrote a history of the kings of Norway about the beginning of the thirteenth century. This celebrated man died in 1241.
- 10 The Chazars, a Turkish tribe, ruled, at the time we now speak, over the northern part of the Crimea; as also the vast regions lying to the north of the Euxine and Caspian seas. The Onogurs or Ugurs, supposed to be the same as Hungarians, were subject to them. These

Chazars having embraced Christianity in the ninth century, adopted a sort of syncretism, which admitted all sorts indifferently. Hence the name of *Chazars* or *Ketzers* has been given, by the German divines, to every species of heretics. Their power vanished about the beginning of the eleventh century.

- 1 The *Patzinacites* or *Kanglians*, also a Turkish and wandering tribe, originally inhabited the borders of the Jaik and the Volga, between these two rivers. Expelled from these countries by the Uzes or Cumans, who combined with the Chazars against them, they attacked the Hungarians, whom they stripped of their possessions, lying between the Tanais, the Dnieper, and the Dniester, (A. D. 884.)
- 2 The Moravians were the first of the Slavian tribes that embraced Christianity. The Greek Emperor Michael, at their own request, sent them, in 863, Cyril and Methodius, two learned Greeks of Thessalonica, who invented the Slavonian alphabet, and translated into their language the sacred books, which the Russians still use.
- 3 The Patzinacites possessed all the countries situated between the Aluta, the Dnieper, and the Donez, which near its source, separated them from the Chazars. They gradually disappeared from history about the end of the eleventh century, when they were dispossessed or subdued by the Cumans.
- 4 Historians have commonly ascribed to this prince the division of England into counties, hundreds, and tithes, as also the institution of juries.
- 5 From the occupation of Greenland and Finland by the Normans, we may infer that North America was known to them several centuries before it was discovered by the English.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.—PERIOD III.

- 1 The Hungarians having made a new invasion upon Otho the Great, advanced as far as Augsburg, to which they laid siege; but Otho, in a battle which he fought with them in the vicinity of that city, (955,) routed them with such slaughter that they never dared to return.
- 2 On this oath, which was taken in 963, the emperors of Germany founded the title by which they claimed the right to confirm, or to nominate and depose the popes. Lawyers generally allege the famous decree of Leo VIII., published 964, as establishing the rights of the emperors over Rome and the popes. But the authenticity of this decree has been attacked by the ablest critics, and defended by others. It would appear that there is no necessity for this to justify these rights. Otho, after having conquered Italy and received the submission of the Romans and the Pope, could easily claim for himself and his successors the same rights of superiority which the Greek and Frank emperors had enjoyed before him.
- 3 He was the duke of Lower Lorraine, and had obtained that dukedom from Otho II. in 977. He transmitted it to his son Otho, who was the last prince of the Carolingian line, and died in 1006.
- 4 The principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, were governed by Lombard princes, who held of the German emperors. The dukedoms of Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and part of Apulia and Calabria, were dependent on the eastern emperors; while the Arabs, masters of the greater part of Sicily possessed also Bari and Tarento in Apulia.
- 5 From this treaty is derived the right of vassalage, which the popes have exercised till the present time, over the kingdom of Naples.
- 6 The first invasion of the Normans in Sicily was in 1060. Palermo, the

capital, fell under their power in 1072, and in 1090 they conquered the whole island.

- 7 The first seeds of Christianity were planted in Denmark and Sweden, by St. Ansgar, whom Louis the Gentle created, in 834, first archbishop of Hamburg, and metropolitan of the North. But the progress of Christianity was extremely slow in those semi-barbarous countries. The first annalist of the North was an Icclander named Are Froge, who flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. The most eminent historian of Denmark, was a monk named Swend Aageson, who digested, about 1187, an abridgement of the history of that kingdom. He was followed by Saxo the grammarian, whose history of Denmark, written in beautiful Latin, is full of fables in the times preceding the 12th century. Norway had for its first annalist a monk named Theodoric, who wrote about 1160. As to Sweden, it has no national historian anterior to the *Chronicles in Verse*, the first anonymous editor of which lived in the time of King Magnus Smeck, about the middle of the 14th century.
- 8 Olaus sent, in 996 and 1000, missionaries into Iceland, who succeeded in making the whole country adopt Christianity. An Icelandic fugitive, named Eric le Roux, discovered Greenland, and formed the first settlements there, about the year, 982. His son, Lief, embraced Christianity during his sojourn in Norway. With the aid of some ecclesiastics whom King Olaus gave him, he returned in 1000 to Greenland, and there converted his father and his fellow-countrymen. The knowledge of the first Norwegian colonies of Greenland, was lost about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The southern and western districts of it were again discovered about 1576; but it was not till 1721 that the Danes formed new settlements there.
- 9 The Polabes inhabited the duchy of Lauenburg, the principality of Ratzenburg, and the province of Schwerin. The Wagrians were settled beyond the Bille in the Wagria, in the principality of Eutin, and a part of Holstein.
- 10 Henry, Duke of Saxony, Conrad, Duke of Zahringen, and Albert, Margrave of the North, headed an army of these crusaders against the Slavi in 1147.
- 11 The right of hereditary succession in the eldest son of every ducal family, was not introduced into Bohemia till 1055. This was the ancient usage in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Hungary.
- 12 No writer of this nation is known anterior to the thirteenth century. The most ancient is Vincent Kadlubeck, bishop of Cracow, who died 1223. He wrote *Historia Polonia*, first published in 1612.
- 13 This *crown*, singularly revered in Hungary, contains Greek ornaments and inscriptions, which give us to understand that it was manufactured at Constantinople. There is a probability that it was furnished by the Empress Theophania, mother of Otho III., to Pope Sylvester II., whom she had lately raised to the pontificate.
- 14 The Greeks upbraided the Latins with fasting on Saturdays—permission to eat cheese, butter, and milk, during the first week of lent—the celibacy of their priests—the repetition of the unction, of baptism in confirmation—the corrupting of the confession of faith—the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist—permission to eat the blood of animals strangled—and the prohibition against the priests wearing their beards.
- 15 The difference of rank and pre-eminence of these two patriarchs, became one of the principal subjects of dispute between the two churches. There was a warm debate as to the title of *Ecumenical Patriarch*, or

universal bishop, which the patriarchs of Constantinople had assumed since the time of the patriarch John II. in 618. The Roman pontiffs, Pelagius II. and Gregory I., haughtily condemned that title as proud and extravagant. They even went so far as to interdict all communion with the patriarchs of Constantinople; and Gregory I., wishing to give these patriarchs an example of Christian humility, in opposition to this lofty title of Universal Bishop, adopted that of *Servant of the servants of God*.

- 16 The Bulgarians, newly converted to Christianity by Greek and Latin missionaries, had priests and bishops of both churches; and each pontiff claimed the sole jurisdiction over that province. This affair having been referred by the Bulgarians themselves to the judgment of the Greek Emperor, he decided in favor of the See of Constantinople. In consequence of this decision, the Latin bishops and priests were expelled from Bulgaria, and replaced by the Greeks in 870.
- 17 This terrible fire, reckoned among their state secrets, was exploded from tubes of copper, or thrown with cross-bows and machines for the purpose. Fire-ships were likewise filled with them, which they despatched among the enemies' ships to burn them. These could not be extinguished by water, or any other way than by the help of vinegar or sand.
- 18 The name of *Tartar*, in the sense in which it is commonly taken, appears to be of a Chinese origin. The Chinese pronounce it *Tha-tha*; and designate, by this name, all the nations that dwell north of the great wall.
- 19 The first that employed this military guard was the Caliph Montassem, who succeeded to the caliphate in 833 or 218 of the Hegira.
- 20 *Sultan* or *Solthan*, is a common name in the Chaldean and Arabic languages, to designate a sovereign, ruler, king, or master.
- 21 Syria was conquered by the Seljukides, between 1074 and 1085. They were masters of Palestine since 1075, which they had conquered from the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt.
- 22 The most powerful of these Emirs dared not assume the title of Sultan, but were content with that of *Atabek*, which signifies in the Turkish language, *Father of the prince*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.—PERIOD IV.

- 1 He was the first of the Roman Pontiffs that assumed the title of *Pope*, (Papa,) to the exclusion of the other bishops and prelates who had formerly made use of that denomination.
- 2 Pope Urban II., one of the immediate successors of Gregory VII., went so far as to recommend to all secular princes, that they should make slaves of such of the priest's wives as lived with their husbands after they had received holy orders. In Denmark and Sweden, the celibacy of the clergy was not introduced till near the middle of the 13th century.
- 3 Pope Nicholas I. and Adrian II., in the 9th century, and John IV. and Gregory V., about the end of the 10th, appealed to the False Decretals in their disputes with the kings of France, on the subject of supremacy and legislative power over the whole church.
- 4 This house which succeeded the Salic dynasty, occupied the throne of the empire from 1138 to 1254.
- 5 Gregory VII. in 1080, confirmed the election of the Anti-Emperor Rodolph. Innocent III., claimed the right to arbitrate in the disputes

- between Philip of Swabia and Otho of Brunswick (1198,) on the subject of their election. The contested election of Richard de Cornwall and Alphonso of Castille to the throne of Spain, was submitted to the judgment of the Pope.
- 6 The Popes derived their claims to these estates, from a donation of them, which the Countess had made in 1077, to Pope Gregory VII., and which she renewed in 1102 to Pascal II.
 - 7 The Order of St. Anthony was founded about 1095; and that of Char-treux was founded in 1080—86, by Bruno of Cologne; and that of Grandmont, by Stephen de Thiers, a native of Auvergne.
 - 8 The Arabs took possession of Palestine under the Caliph Omar, A. D. 657. It fell into the hands of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, A. D. 968.
 - 9-10 There is an amusing description of the crusaders in the Chronicle of Conradus Urspergensis, and the sensation which their first appearance made in Germany.
 - 11 One of these first divisions was conducted by Peter the Hermit in person. A contemporary author gives the following description of that ghostly general. "His appearance was rude in the extreme, of a short stature but of a most fervid zeal. His face was meagre, his feet bare, and his dress of the meanest and the most squalid sort. On his journey, and wherever he went, he used neither horse, mare, nor mule; but only a vehicle drawn by asses." Peter intrusted a part of his army to a French gentleman named *Walter the Pennyless*, who marched before him. A numerous body commanded by a German priest followed him. Nearly the whole of them perished to the amount of 200,000 men.
 - 12 The republic of Venice having refused, in spite of the thundering bulls launched against them, to surrender up the city of Ferrara, Pope Clemont IV. published a crusade against them 1309, and thus compelled them to sue for peace.
 - 13 There were properly no armorial bearings before the 12th century. We do not meet with the *Fleurs-de-lis* on the crown or the robe of the French kings, until the time of Louis VII., A. D. 1164.
 - 14 The crusades were the means of spreading leprosy in Europe, as also the plague, which in 1347 and the following years made dreadful havoc. From Italy it spread over all Europe, and occasioned a violent persecution against the Jews.
 - 15 For these, see the accounts of Spain, Italy, Portugal.
 - 16 This is the common opinion as to the origin of the Hanseatic League, although Sartorius disputes it. The word *Hanse*, in Low German, means any association or corporation. We find this word used, for the first time, in a letter which Edward II. of England wrote in 1315, to the King of France, in favor of the Germanic merchants.
 - 17 The parliament of 1342 is generally cited as the first in which we find the division into two houses.
 - 18 Hence the names of *Pfaghlbürger* and *Ussbürger*, i. e. burgess within the precincts, and without the city.
 - 19 It should be observed, however, that the Roman Law, and especially the Theodosian Code, still remained in Italy to a certain extent, even in the midst of the darkness that covered Europe prior to the 12th century.
 - 20 In the *Truce of God*, challenges or duels were prohibited on Thursdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, under pain of excommunication. They were also forbidden between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter Week, and between Advent Sunday and Epiphany.

- 21 Hugolinus, a famous lawyer, under Frederic I. is generally regarded as the first that digested the Two Books of Fiefs, at the end of the *Corpus Juris*.
- 22 Several other universities were founded in the following century:—such as that of Prague, in 1347; Vienna, in 1365; Heidelberg, in 1386; Cologne, in 1389; Erfurt, in 1389, &c.
- 23 This Confederation of the Rhine was originally concluded between the cities of Mayence, Cologne, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, and Berlin, for the protection of their commerce on the Rhine.
- 24 These grand officers were seven in number, although formerly other princes were admitted to these elections.
- 25 There appears some reason to doubt this statement of Dandolo, the historian of Venice.
- 26 After the downfall of the Roman empire in the 5th century, Corsica was conquered in turn by the Vandals, Greeks, Franks, and Arabs. The latter settled there in the 9th century, and were expelled in the 11th. Sardinia experienced nearly the same revolution as Corsica. It fell successively into the hands of the Vandals, Greeks, Arabs, Genoese, and Pisans. Pope Boniface VIII. vested the King of Arragon in Sardinia in 1297, as his vassal and tributary, who expelled the Pisans in 1324—26.
- 27 The famous Castilian hero Don Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, surnamed the *Cid*, had already seized the kingdom of Valencia, about the end of the 11th century; but the Arabs took possession of it after his death 1099.
- 28 De Guignes fixes the entire destruction of the Almohades in the year 1296.
- 29 After the defeat of the Mahometans, Alfonso having assembled the bishops, declared on his oath that Jesus Christ appeared to him on the evening before the battle, promised him certain victory, and ordered him to be proclaimed king of the field of battle, and to take for his arms the five wounds inflicted on his body, and the thirty pieces of silver for which he was sold to the Jews.
- 30 The first six of these were the ancient lay peers of the crown. They were established in the reigns of Louis VII. and IX., as well as six ecclesiastical peers.
- 31 The states of Germany, in order to preserve the feudal system, passed a law, which forbade the princes to leave the grand fiefs of the empire vacant more than a year.
- 32 By the definitive peace concluded at Paris, in 1259, between Louis IX., and Henry III., Normandy, Lorraine, Maine Anjou, and Poitou, were ceded to France, who then surrendered to England Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, &c., on condition of doing fealty and homage to the kings of France, and to be held under the title of the Duke of Aquitaine and peer of France.
- 33 The first origin of the inquisition may be dated from a commission of inquisitors in 1212, which Innocent III. established at Toulouse against the Albigenses. Gregory IX. intrusted the inquisition to the Dominicans, who erected it into an ordinary tribunal, before which they cited not only those suspected of heresy, but all who were accused of sorcery, magic, witchcraft, judaism, &c.
- 34 Dominic, sub-prior of the church of Osma in Spain, conjointly with Diego d'Azebez, the bishop of that church, undertook, in 1206, the mission against the heretics in Languedoc. Innocent VIII. in 1208, established a perpetual commission of preachers for that country, of which Dominico was declared chief. Hence the origin of the order of Preaching Friars.

- 35 The Irish were converted to Christianity in the 5th century. St. Patrick was their first apostle; he founded the archbishopric of Armagh in 472. The supremacy of the Pope was not acknowledged in that island till the council of Drogheda, 1152, when the Pope's pallium, and the celibacy of the priests, were introduced. 51
- 36 In Denmark, the throne was elective in the reigning family. It was equally so in Norway, where, by a strange custom, natural sons were admitted to the crown, and allowed the privilege of attesting their descent from the royal line by the ordeal of fire. 52
- 37 The power of the clergy in the North was considerably increased by the introduction of Metropolitans. The archbishopric of Lunden was erected in 1152, and that of Upsal in 1163.
- 38 The introduction of tithes met with great opposition in all the North; nor were they generally received till near the end of the 13th century. Canute IV. was put to death in Denmark, principally for having attempted to introduce tithes. 53
- 39 Except Sigurd I., King of Norway, who undertook a crusade to the Holy Land, 1107, at the head of an army of 10,000 men, and a fleet of 60 sail. 54
- 40 Tacitus, and the writers of the middle ages, before the 10th century, seem to have included the Prussians, and the people inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic eastward of the Vistula, under the name of Esthonians. 55
- 41 It is alleged this city took its name from Ottokar II., King of Bohemia, who headed an army of crusaders, and encouraged the building of it. 1
- 42 In the Mogul language, *Zin* or *Tgin*, signifies *Great*, and *Kis*, *very*: so that the word means *Most Great Khan* or *Emperor*. According to others who quote the constant tradition of the Moguls, this new name was taken from the cry of an extraordinary and divine bird, which sat on the tree during the assembly in question, and uttered the word *Tschingkis*. This name was adopted as a special and favorable augury from heaven, and applied to the new conqueror. 2
- 43 The Igours were dependent on this latter empire, a Turkish people to the north-west of China. It is alleged that they cultivated the arts and sciences; and communicated letters and the alphabet to the other Turkish and Mogul tribes. 3
- 44 The former of these events took place in 1279, and the latter in 1243. The Caliphs of Bagdad were annihilated by the Moguls, under the reign of Mangou Khan, A. D. 1258. 4
- 45 It is related that the Emperor Frederic II., when summoned by the Great Khan to submit, and offered an office of high trust at his court, replied to his singular message by way of pleasantry, that he knew enough of fowling to qualify him for grand falconer. 5
- 46 The dynasty of the Moguls in Persia ended in 1410; that of the Zagatai fell into the hands of the usurpers in the 14th century. This dynasty produced the famous Timour.
- 47 Batou Khan was in the habit of ascending the Wolga, with his whole tribe, from January till August, when he began to descend that river in his way to the south.
- 48 *Horde*, in the Chinese or Tartar language, means a tent or dwelling-place.
- 49 These tribes dwelt to the north of the Caspian Sea, between the Jaik, the Wolga, and the Tanais.
- 50 The Moguls of Kipzac, who ruled over Russia, are known rather by

- the name of Tartars than Moguls, as they adopted by degrees, the language and manners of the Tartars among whom they lived.
- 51 An author who wrote in the twelfth century, remarks, that the Hungarians still lived in tents, in summer and autumn; the few houses in that kingdom were built of wood or of stone; that the grandes, when they went to court, brought their seats or chairs with them; and that the same thing was practised by those who went to visit their neighbors in winter.
 - 52 The invasion of Dalmatia became a source of troubles and wars between the kings of Hungary and the republic of Vienna; and it was not till the fifteenth century that the Venetians succeeded in getting possession of the maritime towns of Dalmatia.
 - 53 The Cumans established one of their colonies in a part of ancient Dacia, now Moldavia and Wallachia, which took from them the name of Cumania.
 - 54 Baldwin was succeeded by his brother Henry; and he by his brother-in-law, Pierre de Courtenay, grandson of Louis VI. of France. That prince left two sons, Robert and Baldwin, who both reigned at Constantinople, and were the last of the Latin emperors.
 - 55 They took the name of *Baharites*, which in Arabic signifies *maritimes* or dwellers near the sea.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.—PERIOD V.

- 1 This jubilee, which, according to the bull of Boniface VIII., was to be celebrated only once in a hundred years, was reduced to fifty by Clement VI., to thirty by Urban VI., and twenty-five by Paul II., and Sixtus IV.
- 2 Martin V., Nicholas V., and Calixtus II., gave to the Portuguese all the territories which they might discover, from the Canaries to the Indies. Adrian IV., who adjudged Ireland to Henry II. in 1155, had claimed that all islands in which Christianity was introduced, should belong to St. Peter.
- 3 The kings of France maintained the exercise of that right in spite of the efforts which the court of Rome made to deprive them of it.
- 4 The King even sent to Italy the Chevalier William Nogart with a body of troops, who surprised the Pope at Anagni, made him prisoner, and pillaged his treasures, as well as those of the cardinals in his suit.
- 5 If we can believe an Arabic author from Mecca, of the thirteenth century, paper, of cotton most probably, was invented at Mecca by one Joseph Amru, about the year 706. According to others, the Arabs found an excellent paper manufactory at Samarcand, when they conquered that country in 704. The invention of paper among the Chinese is very ancient.
- 6 M. de Mechel mentions three pictures in the gallery of Vienna, one of the year 1297, and the other two of 1357, as having been painted in oil colors on wood.
- 7 The first cards were painted and designed, which rendered them very dear. Great variety of cards are found among different nations. *Piquet* became the national game of the French, *taroc* of the Italians; the Spaniards invented *ombre* and *quadrille*, and the Germans *lansquenet*.
- 8 One of the oldest of these folios is that found in the library of Buxheim, near Meningen. It represents the image of St. Christopher illumed, with a legend, dated 1423. Printing, by blocks of wood, was practised in China since the year 950.

- 9 Gutenberg, who still kept his art a secret, on the death of Drizhen, sent different persons into his house, and charged them to unscrew the press, and take it to pieces, that no one might discover how or in what he was employed.
- 10 Schœflin dates the invention of the font about the year 1452. The honor of it is commonly ascribed to Peter Schœffer, the companion of Faust.
- 11 In a deed made by Gutenberg and his brother in 1459, he took a formal engagement to give to the library of the convent of St. Claire, at Mayence, the books which he had already printed, or might print; which proves that Gutenberg had printed books long before 1459, and that he still intended to print.
- 12 According to Casiri, there can be no doubt as to the existence of cannon among the Moors in the years 1342—44. The first undoubted proof of the employment of cannon in France, is of the year 1345. The Genoese, it is alleged, employed mines for the first time at the siege of Seranessa, against the Florentines, in 1487; and the Spaniards against the French at the siege of the castle of Oeuf, in 1503.
- 13 The first cannons were constructed of wood, iron, or lead. Gustavus Adolphus used cannons made of leather. They could not support near the quantity of powder of those in modern times.
- 14 Guiot de Provins, who wrote a satirical poem called the Bible, about the end of the 12th century, speaks most distinctly of the mariner's compass, which was used in his time in navigation.
- 15 The herring fisheries on the coast of Scania, in the 14th and 15th centuries, proved a mine of wealth for the Hanseatic trade; so much the more gainful, as all Europe then observed lent.
- 16 William Tell is commonly regarded as the first founder of the Swiss liberty.
- 17 The Grand Duke Michael Joroslavitcz was executed by the Horde in 1318. Demetrius Michaelovitz met with the same fate in 1326.—The Russian princes, on going to an audience with the Khan, were obliged to walk between two fires to purify themselves and the presents which they brought. They were even compelled to do reverence to an image which was placed at the entrance of the Khan's tent.
- 18 The first mention which the annals of Nestor make of the Livonians, and their wars with the Russians, is about the year 1040.
- 19 Various contracts were made before that sale was accomplished. The first was in 1341, and the price was 13,000 marks of silver. In 1346, the Margrave Louis sold his rights over Esthonia to the Teutonic Order for 6000 marks.
- 20 Livonia did not belong exclusively to the Teutonic Order at this time. The archbishop of Riga was independent, and master of the city where he resided.
- 21 Before Uladislaus, there were only some of the sovereigns of Poland invested with the royal dignity; and the tradition which carries back the uninterrupted succession of the Polish kings to Bolislaus, in the year 1000, is contrary to the evidence of history.
- 22 The conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity was resolved on in a general assembly of the nation held in 1387. It consisted simply of the ceremony of baptism. The Polish priests who were employed on this mission, being ignorant of the Lithuanian language, King Jagellon became himself a preacher. One custom which he practised, succeeded better than all the force of reasoning or argument. The Lithuanians, till then, had used only clothes of skins or linen. The King caused

woollen dresses, of which he had ordered a large quantity to be imported from Poland, to be distributed to all those who were baptized. Thousands of the Lithuanians then flocked to the administration of that rite. The Samogitians embraced Christianity about the 13th century.

- 23 The Wallachians, as their language proves, are a mixture of the descendants of the Roman colonies of ancient Dacia, with the Slavians and Goths. They adhered to the Greek church in the ninth century.
- 24 Philip Callimachus, the historian of Uladislaus, was descended of an illustrious family in Tuscany, and one of those fine geniuses which Italy produced in the fifteenth century. Being persecuted at Rome, he retired to Poland to Casimir IV., who intrusted him with the education of his children, and made him his secretary.
- 25 The conquest of Indostan by Timour is fixed to the years 1398, 1399. His dearest trophies were huge towers, formed of the heads which he had cut from his enemies. He raised 120 of these after the taking of Bagdad in 1401.
- 26 In the short space of six or seven hours, the Turks had cleared the city entirely of all its inhabitants.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.—PERIOD VI.

- 1 Las Casas is generally reproached for having advised the employing of African slaves in the Antilles, instead of the natives, while he was zealously supporting the liberty of the Americans; and that it was by his advice that Charles V., in 1517, authorised the Belgian merchants to import 14,000 Africans into these islands, which gave rise to the treaty on the slave trade.
- 2 The kings of Portugal had already obtained similar commissions for their discoveries in the east, from Pope Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Sextus IV.
- 3 The Philippine Isles, discovered by Magellan in 1521, were occupied by the Spaniards in 1564. After several fruitless attempts to find a north-east or north-west passage, the English doubled the Cape of Good Hope before the end of the 16th century.
- 4 Magellan, in his voyage, discovered a new route to India by the straits, to which he gave his name. The Moluccas and the Philippines were then visited by him. He was killed in the Isle of Matan, one of the Philippines, April 27, 1521.
- 5 Henry IV. conceived the project, and concerted with Elizabeth of England, for securing the equilibrium and the peace of the continent, by humbling Austria.
- 6 The assassin was called Balthazar Gerardi. He is said to have bought the pistols, with which he committed the deed, with the money which the prince had given him a few days before.
- 7 The first alliance of the Swiss with France was in 1453. It was renewed in 1474 and 1480. In virtue of this latter treaty, the Swiss engaged to furnish for that prince a body of 6000 auxiliaries, the first regular Swiss troops that had been received into the service of France, with consent of the confederation.
- 8 That war was terminated in 1603, a little before the death of Elizabeth.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.—PERIOD VII

- 1 The first of these medals represented the United Provinces under the figure of a woman trampling Discord, with an inscription a little haughty,

but by no means outrageous for France. The other medal was more piquant; it offered the crown of France to M. Van Beuningen, the ambassador of Holland, under the figure of Joshua, who commanded the sun to stand still.

- 2 This bull, the source of many theological disputes, was issued in 1713, in which Clement XI. condemned a hundred and one propositions, extracted from the New Testament, as false, and infected with the errors of Jansenism.
- 3 In 1713. In this same year was concluded the famous treaty of Methuen, by which Portugal engaged to receive English woollen cloths, on condition that England would admit the wines of Portugal at one-third less duty than those of France.
- 4 The national liberty gained under Charles II. by the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act, passed in 1679.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.—PERIOD VIII.

- 1 Among the means which the regent employed for clearing off the debts of the state, which amounted to three millions, one was the famous scheme of Law, a Scotchman, and the establishment of a bank, which completely failed after having great success, and ruined a number of families.
- 2 Alberoni, a man of vast and enterprising genius, was at first only a simple priest in a village near Parma. He insinuated himself into the favor of the Duke of Vendome, when he commanded the French army in Italy. The Duke took him to Spain, and recommended him to the Princess des Ursins who was then all powerful at the court of Philip V. There he was elevated to the rank of cardinal and prime minister.
- 3 This famous adventurer was descended of a noble family in the province of Groningen. In 1715, he was appointed ambassador for Holland at the court of Madrid. There he insinuated himself into favor with Philip V., who sent him, in 1724, to the court of Vienna to treat with the Emperor Charles V. On his return, he was raised to the rank of duke and prime minister of Spain. Being disgraced for his imprudences, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Segovia, whence he made his escape in 1728, and after wandering over several countries, he passed to Morocco, where it is alleged he became a Mahometan, as he turned Catholic at Madrid. Being obliged to quit that new retreat he repaired to Tetuan, where he died.
- 4 The trade which the English carried on in Spanish America, in virtue of the *Assiento*, having given opportunities for contraband, it was agreed by a subsequent convention, signed at Madrid in 1750, between these two courts, that England should entirely renounce that contract in consideration of a sum of £100,000 sterling, which Spain promised to pay the English company engaged in that trade.
- 5 On the death of Joseph I. in 1777, and the accession of his daughter Mary, the grandees of Portugal avenged themselves for the indignities which the Marquis de Pombal had subjected them to.
- 6 The principal actions which took place between the French and the Hanoverians, with their allies, were those of Hastenbeck in 1757; Crevelt, 1758; Bergen and Minden, 1759; Clostercamp, 1760; Villinghausen, 1761; Grebenstein, 1762.
- 7 The battles fought by the King of Prussia in that war were the following: that of Lowositz in 1756; Prague, Kolin, Jagerndoff, Rosbach, Breslau and Lissa, 1757; Zorndorff and Hochkirchen, 1758; Zullichau

and *Kunnersdorff*, or Frankfort on the Oder, 1759; Liegnitz and Torgau, 1760; Fryburg, 1762. The King gained them all except those marked in italics.

- 8 New differences having arisen between Spain and Portugal in Brazil, which occasioned hostilities, a treaty of peace, concluded March 24, 1778, put an end to these differences, and finally regulated the limits between the two nations in America.
- 9 This prince perished at the siege of Seringapatam, his capital, which the English took in 1799.
- 10 It appears by the overtures which the Empress of Russia made to the King of Poland in 1771, 1775, that she was averse to the partition of Poland, which, in effect, appeared to be in opposition to the true interests of Russia.
- 11 The Austrian division was estimated at about 1300 German square miles, with 700,000 inhabitants.
- 12 These countries were estimated at 4157 square miles, with 3,050,000 inhabitants.
- 13 The portion of the King of Prussia comprised 1061 square miles, with 1,150,000 inhabitants. It contained 262 cities, and 8274 villages.
- 14 It was in this revolution that Counts Struensee and Brandt were executed—the former being prime minister of Sweden. For the lives of these two persons, see *Converts from Infidelity*, Vol. II., by the translator of this work.

CHAPTER IX.

- 1 The first act of the Confederation is dated Oct. 4. 1776. It then comprehended only eleven states. South Carolina and Maryland were not included till 1781.